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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 September 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

POLISH-SOVIET PRESS COLLABORATION--Igor Medvedev, vice president and editor-in-chief of the Novosti Press Agency, visited Warsaw from 22 to 25 August. Medvedev was visiting Warsaw in connection with the appointment of a new chief to head Novosti's Warsaw bureau. The former bureau chief, Viktor Strizko, is returning to Moscow following the end of his tour in Poland, and the bureau is being taken over by Igor Kozhun. During his stay in Warsaw, I. Medvedev met with Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The Soviet guest held a number of consultations with the editors-in-chief of Polish press institutions cooperation with the Novosti Press Agency. A protocol was signed on cooperation between the Novosti Press Agency and the Workers' Press Agency of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Publishing Cooperative. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 84 p 2]

2600/1235-P

## EMPLOYMENT DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY MILITARY SPOUSES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Captain Lyubomir Denov: "Women's Problems: The Military Spouses at a Small Garrison Encounter Difficulties Looking for a Convenient Job"]

[Text] Is the job of a military serviceman more difficult than his spouse's? This question, which at first glance seems to be a paradox, has come up and has overshadowed many other problems that exist in the subdivisions where officers Kalupov and Dimitrov serve. This question was asked by a young officer, who after having passed through several garrisons in 6 years had fully experienced not only the burden of an officer's profession, but also the immeasurable difficulties that an officer's spouse, the woman who has vowed not only to be the mother of his children but a faithful companion in life as well, is forced to overcome.

It is not necessary to point out that the modern officer's spouse is also emancipated, that she would also like to live to the fullest and find her place in life, as all other women do. Not too long ago, a professor said in MLADEZH that if a woman has children she can be assured that she has reached the summit of her creative realization. It is true that emancipation does not mean childlessness. But excuse me, says the officer's spouse, for although I want to and do give birth to children, I have my own profession too!

Guided by this statement, let us examine, to a certain extent, the problems of several military families in this garrison.

From Time to Time -- According to Article 64

The family of young officer Dobromir Ivanov arrived at the garrison some time ago. While they were settling in, getting a new apartment, time passed by and the idea of Ivelina going to work was not uppermost in their minds. Their parents were far away, but still they were helping. There are no great hopes for finding a job either; Ivelina is a primary school teacher. That is why no one was surprised when the first job applications were rejected. Time passed, though, and Ivelina got a temporary job (Article 64) in the neighboring village, but only for a short time. The contract was soon up and she returned home. The family was now bigger, and Dobromir's salary was not sufficient. After a

while there was another opening (still on a temporary basis, according to Article 64) in the neighboring village; however, there was another inconvenience which appeared right then: Dobromir is often on duty, he is away on exercises and camps for whole weeks, so who is supposed to pick up the children from kindergarten?...

### The Director's Fears

The spouse of First Lieutenant Emil Temelkov is from the area. When they met, she was already working at the local canning combine, and later on she enrolled, by correspondence, at the Higher Food Industry Institute in Plovdiv. She had valuable experience as a worker. After she graduated from the institute, she was offered a job as a technologist. Marvelous! Director Khristev invited her in for a conversation; his thoughts, however, suddenly took an unexpected turn: "We have been informed that your husband is considering moving to his native town. Is there any guarantee that you would not follow him there in the fall?" What could she answer? After a while, someone spread rumors that Temelkov had already moved to Pleven (he was only at a winter camp there). All that was left was to send someone out to check if they had already started packing their bags! Then there was another obstacle: they could not hire her because her secondary education was general, not specialized. Shortly afterwards, they hired a colleague of hers who had also graduated from a high school. And so on, for months and months.... Only a few days before our meeting with First Lieutenant Temelkov, his wife had officially received her diploma from the Higher Food Industry Institute.

### How Is One To Look After Three Children?

Rumyana and Vasil Georgiev are also from there and have three children: two girls and one boy. May they be happy and healthy! Many say that, but a lot of fairy tales do not get the job done. The children came one after the other, and so there is no work in here specialty (Rumyana is a mid-level technician). Over the course of 6 years, she has received only the means allotted for motherhood from the council. The rest of the time they have lived on Vasil's salary. Judge for yourself if the salary of one first sergeant will feed five mouths. It is a good thing they have relatives around to help.... Rumyana has been working for 3 years at the agroindustrial complex; she makes polyethylene bags, on various shifts. The first shift begins at 5:30 a.m., and the second shift ends at 9:30 p.m. When Vasil is on duty or on maneuvers, being late is a dead certainty. She was warned several times that she would be fired. Once they even let her go for a week. After that Vasil started coming home late again.... They have tried to get some work at home with a local fish-catching crew, but without success....

### What About Working Experience?

The spouse of Lieutenant Krasimir Rashev has completed a technical school in viticulture and wine-producing. For 2 years she worked as a quality control monitor in Veliko Turnovo. But then she was forced to cut short her working experience. The Wine Industry refused to take her. For 1 year Grozdina stayed at home. Thanks to an intercession -- that is how these things are done! --

she was assigned to work half-days, starting in August of last year, naturally at half-pay. Now she is expecting a child. Soon she will have to stop working, but if she is not on the payroll, she will lose her position and will again be forced to break off her work experience....

#### The Bases for Double Assurance

The commanders of the two units are familiar with the problems of young families. (It is appropriate here to note that the list of non-working spouses of men in the service is not limited to the names of those mentioned.) Up to now, thanks to a friendly relationship with the local organs of party and state leadership, dozens of officers' and sergeants' wives have received suitable employment. But the commanders recognize that it is difficult to struggle against the demands for double assurance, made by certain leaders or cadre workers. Usually the apprehensions are related to the likelihood of the spouse being transferred to a different garrison, leaving the enterprise without the experienced specialist, who had become accustomed to conditions there. The demands for a firm guarantee that there will be no transfer in the fall are simply ludicrous: which officer or first sergeant could give a firm, affirmative response? Is this not one of the harsh realities of our difficult occupation, which, it seems, not everyone wants to take up? In addition, the one who asks this question knows very well that there can be no reply, neither a yes nor a no, not to mention the insinuations that as soon as the spouse receives better pay the wife might stop working. But is there really anyone who goes to work only for the sake of his salary? Why do these local leaders, who overdo it with indirect responses and naturally prefer local cadres, not ask themselves the question of how easy it is for these young wives who have left their family homes, who have given up the comforts of a large city to share the life of her spouse? The sense of this life, as everyone knows, is the defense of our native land!

These women's problems, as they are already called here, the sufferings of the officers' and sergeants' families, are not isolated cases, but rather common concerns of military collectives, of the whole army community!

#### Optimism, With a Reservation

We made these facts known to one of the secretaries of the Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He assured us that the local party and state leadership has information about the needs of officers' and sergeants' families. Two years ago the situation truly was not good. But now, new job opportunities have been created and are continuing to be created (not including administration). "In the near future," Comrade Vakrilov said, "the possibilities for providing employment opportunities for the spouses of officers and sergeants will be re-examined accurately and in a detailed way. Of course, this will take place after contacting the command leadership of the two units." There was evident optimism in the words of the secretary of the Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; he did not hesitate to admit that there had been great difficulties, but he announced with the same firmness that it is within his power to resolve these problems.

Let us hope so. May our words, too, be filled with optimism. However, because the optimism of a number of families is more important in this case, the editorial staff reserves the right, after a few months, to check whether the garrison is still keeping a list of non-working officers' and sergeants' wives. And so, until we meet again!

(Author's note: In the final hours of my business trip, it was reported to me that First Lieutenant Temelkov's spouse had actually been hired as a technologist at the canning combine. Congratulations to her whole family!)

12334

CSO: 2200/181

IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGY EMPHASIZED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "Class Consciousness"]

[Excerpt] The communist parties originated as a result of a consistent combination of revolutionary proletarian ideology and the workers' movement. Their successful existence and their achievements in the revolutionary struggle are intimately linked to the character of this combination. It must be firm and organic. Any weakening of Marxist-Leninist teaching as a theoretical base of proletarian ideology also means a weakening in the ability to adopt class viewpoints and class approaches and damages the entire class consciousness. It also means the weakening of the workers movement of a given country and a reduction in its revolutionary potential.

Thus, it is necessary for communists, in improving and strengthening their class consciousness, constantly to learn everything which Marxist-Leninist teaching has assembled during the time of its existence. The entire ideological-educational work of the communist party must be directed toward this goal.

When we emphasize that the ideological work of the party must in all its aspects acquire the level of the needs and tasks of the present time--the needs for building a developed socialist society--this means in the first place a correct understanding of an application in practice of the generally valid thesis concerning the determination of existence vis-a-vis consciousness and the priority of social practice over theory. Under no circumstances, however, can ideological work be reduced to an interpretation whereby it can justify the neglect of consciousness and theory vis-a-vis practical needs. And this interpretation is inadmissible within the context of the practical building of a socialist society, which has at its disposal a huge institutionalized potential of party and state, scientific-research and pedagogical centers that are able, if adequately directed and managed, to secure understanding as well as the ability to make forecasts corresponding to practical needs.

If we return to the basic thesis that speaks of the need to improve ideological work to meet the level of current needs, we can see the importance of its effectiveness, which must be measured by the ability to influence and accelerate socioeconomic processes, the ability to solve problems with a certain vision and reserve, the ability not to lag behind practice but only solve those problems which should not be problems in the first place because they are often a consequence of subjective or subjectivist attitudes or of the failure to respect basic, elementary, or even trivial truths.

From the aforementioned it is obvious that the principle of a class approach under the existing demanding conditions cannot be understood only as a way to adopt a point of view through which an individual or a group "takes the appropriate stand," but as a way to adopt an attitude which not only "objectively" but on the whole consciously serves internally and in a committed way the forces of progress and historic march forward. Thus, the problem is not only simply to differentiate between struggling parties but to adopt for the revolutionary forces an activist and high-caliber position based on one's consciousness.

One of the most important elements of ideological work is party education. At this time this activity is being carried out under specific conditions. Let us mention at least two basic and for this activity characteristics and typical features. While in the past its goal was the dissemination and learning of Marxist-Leninist theory, today this goal has become a point of departure. The changes which have taken place in the consciousness of a society building socialism have created adequate prerequisites for it. At the present time the emphasis is especially on the ability of the creative application of acquired knowledge in the solution of concrete tasks--regardless of whether they deal with party work, tasks in management, or the fulfillment of targets in the economic plan. More than ever before, we require and need the ability to solve problems in their social and ideological relationships and understand them in the overall social mechanism.

The second specific circumstance is the fact that the number of young people who are CPCZ members has grown greatly. From this fact we must derive the necessary lessons and conclusions for our ideological work. In spite of the fact that our work with young party members and candidates has greatly improved, one should not expect that admission into the party immediately converts a young individual into a tested and conscious revolutionary and that all of a sudden this is a culmination of his ideological and political maturity. Experience with the base organizations shows that the most serious shortcomings are in the area of consistently formulating class consciousness among members, the ability to evaluate events taking place in the contemporary world from a class position, as well as -- and one should not forget this -- in evaluating events and developmental trends characteristic of socialist society from the class standpoint.

To explain why certain people from educated generations with consciousness developed during the process of building a socialist society do not always act and think in a socialist way is not easy. A certain role here has been played by the simplistic notion within which the formulation of consciousness is understood as a conflict-free and internally non-contradictory process. Contradictions in formulating a socialist consciousness were recognized only in relations toward bourgeois and other hostile ideologies. We have not always sufficiently respected the principle that the "learning of socialism" always means conducting a fight on two fronts: against bourgeois ideology and for the consciousness of the individual. In spite of the fact that at first sight this looks like a paradox, positive values, ideas and principles, too, become a "property" of the consciousness of the socialist individual through the path of an expressly contradictory process. Precisely because of the internal contradictions of this process, the individual is constantly forced to evaluate and appreciate as well as re-evaluate what he has achieved and to search for new and more appropriate approaches.

When we speak about a class attitude as a basic methodological postulate for evaluating social phenomena, we cannot limit ourselves to general declarations. We must not forget class attitude in our everyday life.

It manifests itself in the responsible and disciplined fulfillment of the tasks of building a developed socialist society. It is not possible to reduce the class approach to a mere gnoseological-methodological aspect. Everyday class consciousness means working actively for socialism, friendly relations, participation in the building effort, and irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology and revisionist distortions. Stated simply, it rests not on big words or gestures but on deeds.

1277

CSO: 2400/424



EFFECT OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM ON VALUES

Hungary: Modernization Without Hope

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE in French 25 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andre Reszler]

[Text] The survey which Hungarian sociologist Elemer Hankiss published entitled, "Along a forced trajectory," fills an important gap. For the first time, the value system of an Eastern European country is the subject of a representative study of the whole population.

What are they thinking about in a society that has been isolated from the European community of values since the end of World War II? Have the collectivist values imported from the East taken root? Or do traditional ideas--beliefs and hopes--perpetuate Hungary's belonging to a common European civilization?

In an acclaimed essay, "Diagnostics," published in 1982, Hankiss already dealt with the problem of values in socialist Hungary. He noted the coexistence within a divided system of four "sub-systems," having contradictory trends. The Hungarian way of living, thinking and feeling is influenced in turn by:

- what remains of the traditional Christian value system;
- the capitalist value system, based on the principle of "accumulation" (that which has survived from before 1948-49);
- the more hedonistic, consumer-oriented system of capitalist values (which proves the impact of Western values opposed by the regime); and
- the system of values associated with the international workers' movement.

Man in His Original State

Since each of these sub-systems aims to achieve a different social ideal, one might expect a situation pegged on conflicts. To believe Hankiss, the reality is altogether different. Every value system worthy of the name owes its vitality to a real community of men and to the existence within that community of "autonomous, fully grown individuals." In Hungary, however, community existence has been destroyed on behalf of an

atomized, dulled society: "The traditional communities have been dissolved, but no new community has been created." As for the individual, he remains in his original state, with a collectivist system opposing on all sides the emergence of autonomous and responsible personalities.

Thus we are witnessing a totally unprecedented spectacle in Hungary: the chaotic, low-key existence of a society without values, and all past and present values wasting away due to lack of roots in its life.

Is Hungary experiencing an absolute void? That is not the case at all. In the first place, the country has been forced to enter upon a modernization phase, even if, compared to the modernization of the West, it is a negative one. Next, thanks to the creation of a parallel economic sector, the individual is being rehabilitated. The individualism, however, whose revival is being hinted at, does not possess the "rich" components which create true individualism: it is empty.

#### /Negative Modernization/

In contrast to the countries of Western Europe, which founded modern industrial society upon a liberal "rationality," the Eastern European countries have been modernized by a policy of reforms that are determined from above--"centralized and planning rationality," which replaces private initiative with state intervention. To crush all opposition to their strategy of forced modernization, the leaders of communist Hungary have removed all sources of autonomous thought and action from the life of the country. "They have swept out all the corners of the attic and emptied the consciences. Toward greater success, they have broken ties with historical continuity. They have done everything to discredit alternative solutions," Hankiss concludes.

Throughout the world the process of modernization has expanded the sphere of man's rights. In Hungary, their exercise has come up against insurmountable obstacles for several decades. The resultant feeling of powerlessness produces a constant sense of injury. Today's Hungarian is above all an injured party. His psychology is that of a man who feels expropriated, "wronged."

#### New Hope Under Socialist Yoke

Geneva JOURNAL DE GENEVE 26 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andre Reszler]

[Text] In contrast to the Western countries which were modernized through private initiative and a liberal rationality, the countries of Eastern Europe had reforms imposed by the state, which crushed all sources of autonomous thought and action: a modernization which broke ties with historical continuity and emptied out the consciences. (See 25 July edition)

Forever "injured," has the Hungarian renounced the values of individualism for good? Not at all, reply the authors of the survey, without hesitation. The state's collectivist impetus was broken since the end of the fifties. A new individualism--empty individualism--is developing among all the segments of the population as the only possible response to the surrounding collectivist system, with its basis in the parallel, private and increasingly widespread sector of the economy.

While Western societies have been experiencing a second industrial revolution, Hungary remains buried in the logic (the iron yoke) of the first industrial revolution--the same stages which England and Holland completed in the 18th and 19th centuries. By mobilizing its energies toward outdated goals, it is getting overtaken by the group of Western nations. The more it succeeds, the more it perpetuates its backwardness.

Thus, everything must be thought out again! Start at square one: Faced with an unprecedented crisis of values, the recommendations of Hankiss and his colleagues are bent on the complete reorganization of official ideology. The process of negative modernization of official ideology. The process of negative modernization, they claim, must be slowed, and Hungarian society must be led along the path of a Western style of modernization, while preserving traditional common values and developing again the values of human conscience and individual autonomy.

Can the results of that survey be applied to all the people's democracies? Here, any hasty generalization must be avoided, since the Danube countries give a picture of a complex variety. Thus, in Poland, traditional Christian values enjoy a very important "institutional" support--the Catholic Church, which is unknown in Hungary. In Romania, the almost total absence of a parallel economic sector deprives the "savage" individual of his indispensable foundations. But once we have admitted the limits of arguing by analogy, a certain number of common traits appear.

In most countries of the East, within a kaleidoscopic system of values, we again find the same components, namely, values originating in an "abolished" national tradition; the values of socialism; and a cluster of new values created in opposition to the application of the Soviet model. Lacking their usual "institutional" support, traditional values are losing their internal cohesiveness more and more. The only system enjoying such support--the socialist system--does not possess that "human dimension" without which values cannot enter its life.

Despite their isolation, the Eastern European peoples are adopting the most dynamic Western European values, positive or negative, even if they take the form of confused hopes. Keep in mind in this regard the fundamental Europeaness of the different national cultures. Except for periods of crisis--Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968--most of the values have been expressed in a very low-key manner. Beneath the surface, however, new ideas and hopes can be found which are always ready to be reaffirmed.

9475

CSO: 3619/88

SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT ANALYZED

Social, Cultural Progress Reviewed

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7, Jul 84 pp 24-26

[First in a series of two articles, by Halina Auderska, writer, chairperson of the Polish Writers Union: "Reflections on the 40th Anniversary of the PRL"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the PRL, in this July jubilee issue of NOWE DROGI we are commencing to publish the first comments to a kind of editorial poll. The respondents are persons having different occupations and professions, of different generations, with different life experiences, representing different views and convictions. They are persons enjoying moral, occupational-professional and social authority. Through the prism of personal feelings and assessments ensuing from their outlook and ideological and intellectual commitment is drawn an unusually rich panorama of the affairs of People's Poland. Such a personal and downright subjective nature of comments is regarded by the editors as fully justified. For this represents a particularly important contribution to the integral analysis and synthesis, both political and social, of those last 40 years. After all, the proper assessment and appraisal of this period are the subject of an ongoing sharp dispute of an ideological and political nature. It is just not the occasion of this anniversary that warrants stating that this has been a time of epochal greatness, a time of historic changes, a time of construction and transformation, a time of explorations and portentous solutions, and at the same time a time of many errors and mistakes. There have been many group and individual successes and accomplishments, but we did not avoid personal and collective disappointments and failures. The reflections below illustrate this clearly. At the same time, they confirm explicitly the following truth: the correct assessment of the past period is positive; its greatness manifests itself without needless

trumpeting and boasting, but at the same time it requires the disapprobation of nihilism and negation.

In publishing these initial comments we encourage further reflections on the 40th anniversary of the PRL.

It is difficult to write of the 40 years of People's Poland, because the changes occurring in it during that period--understandable as they are to us--are not comparable to the changes in the countries ideologically akin to us, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary or the GDR. Those other countries have retained their former structure in the sense that, e.g., the bourgeoisie living in Budapest for centuries has been transmitting its fixtures and skills to the rising generation, or that in the GDR or Prague one can meet families that have been living in the same place for years and simply refining their fixtures and skills. In our country this kind of passing on the relay-race baton from the grandfather to the grandson still happens solely among miners, and we can speak of them as persons who provide an example to others in the Polish 40-year period. As for the "others," their fate has been different. The burning or bombing of towns and villages as well as the great migration of the peoples experienced by our country in the first 10 postwar years have produced such extensive changes that prewar Poland can hardly be compared with present-day Poland. Nearly everything is new in the latter: the rebuilt cities with their influx of suburban and rural population; the new steel plants and shipyards in which by now generational continuity of employment exists--owing to personal abilities, creative ingenuity and rationalization and invention [rather than owing to skills passed on in the family]; the new countryside, from which not only have thatched roofs disappeared but also--unfortunately--young people are beginning to disappear and leave new houses to aging parents some of whom are incapable of farm work. The rapid turnover of the factory workforce and the search for better and easier working conditions are features of the last 20 years. At the same time, this period has been marked by the rise of a new intelligentsia originating from workers and peasants and intellectual revival in small towns and the countryside.

Everything has been stirred in our country as in a cauldron, which is still boiling and astir, because we are a restless people that gets readily excited and likes all kinds of innovations. We have even made our own that contumacy of the gentry, whose every representative wanted to be "equal to the voivode." This desire for such an unattainable equality is common, and it perhaps is a characteristic feature of the 40-year period. It has its negative aspects and dangerous shallows, but it demonstrates that in the last 40 years a new type of citizen has arisen: an enlightened citizen who avails himself of the blessings of the spread of culture, who can benefit from the extra education provided by the mass media, and who is fully aware of his rights. But he is not as aware of his duties, which do not always suit the refractory Polish psyche, and the situation is even worse as regards privileges, which are intolerable to the "new Pole." And yet he should acknowledge that they are deserved by persons of special merit as well as by disabled war veterans, the physically handicapped and those legally incompetent. It is worthwhile to consider them when struggling tenaciously to abolish all privileges for anyone and once and for all.

When I look at Poland from the vantage point of the last 40 years, I perceive that she has become rejuvenated and more lovely. Formerly an agricultural country, it has become an agricultural-industrial one and, despite many mistakes, in its agricultural policy it is a modern state. The mistakes of the 1970s could and should have been avoided, and it could have been foreseen that in an era of crises the crisis in our country would be particularly severe and thus result in the just protest of the laboring masses. But it was difficult to foresee that our rebellion, our "mutiny" would be fanned from abroad, that those "desiring to improve the Republic" would meet with such eager support from the United States which withheld credit for us and imposed on us all sorts of sanctions. And if we survived the most difficult period, we owe this equally to the wisdom of the general-premier and to that of the working class, which resumed anew its work decisive to our "to be or not to be."

On fertile soil, in grain, weeds proliferate. I am for exterminating them, on condition that this would not damage the grain or ruin the soil's fertility. In other words, I wish that, when perceiving evil, our society would also perceive it in itself. I wish that, instead of constantly complaining, it would begin to work more vigorously, like just after the war. Perhaps the younger generation, born in a country that has already been rebuilt, is unaware of the exceptional toil and cost of its rebuilding, admired by foreigners. Perhaps it is not sufficiently aware that we are among the world's leading countries as regards the reconstruction and preservation of [architectural, cultural] landmarks, and that young foreigners, including even students from a country ill-disposed toward us, the FRG, come to us to learn the related skills. Perhaps it is not sufficiently aware that Western writers admit that Poland's concern and aid for worker artists and folk artists are not matched in the West, where they benefit neither from artist allowances nor from houses of work for writers, journalists or those engaging in fine arts. We often complain--but they envy us for having something and somebody to complain about where culture is concerned. True, they publish more book titles, but their library network does not extend to small villages or settlements. [In the West] it is the inhabitants of large cities who read; in other words, over there they interpret the dissemination of culture differently from us.

We are a biologically young nation and within 40 years we have succeeded in replacing those fallen on all fronts and martyred in camps with new citizens of our country. We must and want to rely on them. For we, the wartime generation, appreciate the worth of one of the greatest accomplishments of the past 40-year period--life and work in peace.

#### Economic Pluses, Minuses

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7, Jul 84 pp 26-31

[Second in a series of two articles, by Czeslaw Bobrowski, economist, professor at Warsaw University, chairperson of the Economic Advisory Council under the PRL Council of Ministers: "Reflections on the 40th Anniversary of the PRL"]

[Text] Any article can be addressed to various audiences: to the general readership, to readers with special knowledge of the subject, and lastly to oneself (when asking questions to which one does not know complete answers).

In a short article it is difficult to accommodate these three different approaches, especially considering that two of them--the first and the third--are not easy. The 40th anniversary coincides with a time of deep frustration: a huge segment of the society feels doubtful about the efficiency of our economy, and it is to be feared that many rational arguments will be ignored by those who simply are affected by the consequences of the crisis situation in their personal and family lives. This cannot be surprising. The decline of some 15 percent in consumption in recent years is and must be painfully felt, the more so considering that every social group suspects or even sometimes claims that it is precisely it that shoulders the brunt of the crisis. It is extremely difficult to convince anyone that in reality it is otherwise, that only a small segment has totally or partially eluded bearing the burden of the crisis. But who can be counted among that small margin of the fortunate ones? Planning proportions have not changed greatly, with the exception of a slight tendency toward greater egalitarianism. Compared with others, scientific workers are somewhat worse off, while miners are better off, although to be sure without the privilege represented by the booklet authorizing a miner to make purchases in special stores the difference would not have been that great. A widespread and major privilege is the possession of foreign exchange regardless of its origin--whether deriving from work abroad or from relatives, but within that group only a minority has substantial funds. The private sector has it better, as do the wealthier farmers. And lastly there is the "second circulation"--speculators, etc. Only some of the persons belonging in these categories have very high incomes. There appears to be reason to believe that the perturbations in the division of national income are more /glaring/ [emphasized] than /real/ [emphasized], although of course it is not easy for the man-on-the-street to avoid generalizing about instances of shocking amassing of fortunes by isolated individuals that he may have witnessed. Neither the above reflections nor measures to apportion a greater burden to privileged individuals can offset the frustrations ensuing from the general deterioration in living standards.

These frustrations cannot either be counteracted by comparisons with the past. What of it if the current economic difficulties are as nothing compared with the dramatic prewar fate of the unemployed, a large part of employed workers and, chiefly, the huge mass of the peasantry? Memories of the prewar reality survive only in the minds of my generation and people not much younger than myself. And that only on condition that the past is not idealized or recollections are biased by belonging to the groups that then used to be privileged. Most people react with mistrust to statistics showing that the prewar per capita meat consumption was only one-half, and sugar consumption nearly one-fourth, of its present level and that the situation as regards other foodstuffs was similar.

This also applies when references are made to the postwar living standards. The poverty that had followed the wartime devastations and the Occupation is



something understood by all, but after all already 40 years have elapsed since those times. Memories of the living standards in the mid-1970s, which are not much different from their present-day level, are, of course, more vivid. But the response to this unquestionable truism reduces to finding that we have retrogressed 10 years. By contrast, people do not remember that the living standards which we had then achieved were considered as major progress, and that the consumer public had been explicitly contented with them, whereas present-day living standards are considered catastrophic. This besides is confirmed by imbalances in various sectors, interruptions in the supplies of consumer goods, etc.

Wherein is the major decline in living standards at its most tangible? Primarily in the deterioration of the housing situation, which has besides been worsening over the years if the population increase and the needs of newlywed couples are considered. A problem of nearly equal importance is that of the so-called availability of goods, which to be sure has improved but still very tangibly burdens the leisure time of working women. Pessimistic assessments of the situation, and hence also of the efficiency of our economy, are enhanced by two quite different myths. One of them concerns Poland's natural conditions.

The public believes that Poland's agricultural conditions are favorable. No allowance is made, or at best insufficient allowance is made, for problems of the quality of soils, which on the average is worse than in most West European countries. No allowance either is made for climate conditions, and primarily for the water balance sheet. Thus, the illusory view continues to prevail that formerly we used to be a food exporter, whereas in reality our exports had been "from hunger," so to speak.

Our mineral resources may be considered on the European scale as being at least average, with coal playing a decisive role. But coal has ceased to be the asset that it had been in the early years of the economy of People's Poland. It remains significant that mining conditions are steadily deteriorating, because mine depths and hence also mining cost are increasing, since we have entered upon a stage of development in which recruiting people for work in mines is a difficult and costly problem. And although coal remains the principal source of convertible currencies, it does so chiefly owing to the insufficient expansion of the exports of manufactured industrial goods, which nowadays are the principal commodity in world trade.

The other myth had arisen in the first few years of the new system of society and the planned economy. The well-known formulation according to which a planned socialist economy is capable of harmonious and steady growth was taken too literally, without considering internal and external conditions. We promoted an uncritical or even apologetic interpretation of its positive aspects and of the potential of centralized planning, stressing all the successes as well as on the contributions of the state to economic growth. The well-known results of the Reconstruction Period and the first few years of the 6-Year Plan strengthened confidence in the future and awakened hopes that were somewhat illusory. It was remembered and stressed that centralized planning enhances the effects of correct decisions, forgetting that it also enhances



the consequences of mistaken decisions. At the same time, the positive results of the Reconstruction Period and the first few years of the 6-Year Plan awakened hopes and claims transcending real possibilities. Thus, a myth advantageous to the authorities and promoting social optimism harbored already in its embryo the danger of saddling the state, the central plan and even the system of society itself with the entire responsibility.

It is not surprising that, given the tremendous mistakes in the policy of the 1970s, the tendency to make the government and the party solely responsible for the crisis has arisen. The normal human inclination to look for personified scapegoats has made the matter worse: a convenient myth turned in 1980 into a dangerous factor not conducive to objective analysis. What is worse, the experiences of the 1970s and the present crisis are considered by many people to apply to the entire 40-year period as well, thus obliterating previous appraisals. Here, besides, the role played by clumsy propaganda is taking its toll nowadays. In publicistics, every successive stage has been negatively assessed after its ending. This had begun already following the 3-Year Plan, which was rehabilitated only years later. Next, the period of the 6-Year Plan was condemned outright as a period of mistakes and deformations. Following the October [1956, worker protests] period the judgments were more balanced, although numerous critical appraisals appeared after 1970. It is difficult for the average citizen to realize that the entire period of People's Poland has been one in which elements of progress and success predominated, considering that each successive stage in that period has been criticized.

Do I intend to prove that there have been no mistakes, or that the mistakes have been insignificant? On the contrary. There were quite a few mistakes and, what is more, some of the decisions that had been just at the time but were not revised later became as a consequence sources of negative economic phenomena. I should begin with the period for which I bear considerable responsibility, i.e., the period of the 3-Year Plan. Logic dictated that we chose the policy of a rapid reconstruction of the destroyed production plants without simultaneously modernizing them. Above all, this could not have been otherwise. Imports of machinery could not be considered, and reconstruction without modernization was something immeasurably easier and more rapid: it did not require designers and complex decisions, and it relied on "golden hands" and human effort. Of course, this exacted its toll in the future. Side by side with up-to-date plants we still have quite a few factories with archaic equipment and working conditions that are impermissible nowadays. The matter was exacerbated by the subsequent period: despite the fact that the reconstruction had not yet been completed and did not include the modernization of production processes, the 6-Year Plan focused almost entirely on the establishment of new plants.

Besides, two other solutions with unfavorable consequences have survived from the the period of the 3-Year Plan. It so happened that, owing to inflationary tensions, scientific workers, teachers, and others found themselves at the tail-end of the queue as regards wage rates and received "smaller portions"---an unfavorable situation that persists to this very day. The policy which I term the policy of open factory gates, i.e., of unrestrained growth in

employment, was intended to avert explicit unemployment, and the other expectation was that rapid production progress would justify that growth in the immediate future. But that policy was not rationally modified and became a cause of overemployment. Instead of revising the faulty price system, the so-called "battle for trade" was commenced already in 1974 and, as a result, the already difficult process of rebuilding and developing the artisan trades fell victim to that battle.

As regards the policy of the 6-Year Plan, the following comments by the author of that plan, Hilary Minc, made at the October Plenum appear to describe it best:

"It appears that the principal mistake of the 6-Year Plan, both in its design and in its execution, was the failure to mesh the tasks of improving the material and cultural conditions of the population on an ongoing basis with the tasks of the longrange expansion of productive forces and reduction of the lag behind the leading countries. As a result of this discrepancy, and considering that the substantial growth of productive forces has been at the same time extremely uneven and burdened by numerous deficiencies and great disproportions, a commensurate increase in the living standards and cultural conditions of the population has not taken place."

Farther on in his speech Minc stated that, in addition to conceptual errors and objective difficulties that were not and could not have been foreseen, mistakes in execution also were a factor. "In particular, the failure to infer promptly and consistently conclusions that subsequently became evident during the actual fulfillment of the plan as well as the consequences of conceptual errors and previously unforeseen difficulties." One result of this complex whole of causes was the inadequate consideration of consumption needs, particularly as regards foodstuffs (that is, disregard of the agricultural issue). The transfer of the elite technician cadre to the armaments industry, necessitated by the situation and accomplished at the expense of other subsectors, the expansion of the investment program on a scale precluding the on-schedule completion of a large part of the commenced investment projects, and inflationary phenomena that have, to be sure, been halted but not definitively eliminated by the exchange of currency and adjustments of retail prices--such were the other weaknesses of the 6-Year Plan period.

The 14-year period from October 1956 till December 1970 was not uniform and its assessment has to be ambivalent. During its first years a considerable part of investment outlays was spent on completing previously commenced investment projects. If the previously incurred outlays are not taken into account, these projects were relatively effective, but at the same time they perpetuated the directions of the outlays made in the preceding period. In the second half of that period, the situation changed to the extent that freedom of choice of directions had increased. But this freedom of choice was utilized to a limited degree only, because the line of extensive rather than intensive development continued to be pursued. As a result, the share of investments in distributed income increased, and employment increased as well, although migration from the countryside by then was not as justified as it had previously been, and it now instead became a factor in the transfer of the

burden of farm work to women and the elderly. The share of housing construction in the whole of investment outlays had declined: this is a significant fact, because it warrants assuming that increasing that share by 2 or 3 points (in terms of percent of overall investment outlays) could have made it possible to reduce markedly the number of housing applicants on the waiting list. The interesting concept of the agricultural circles and the transfer to the disposal of these circles of part of the revenues ensuing from the low prices [then] paid for compulsory deliveries prevented a further deterioration of the situation in private farming but did not produce the expected results. Anti-inflationary measures were insufficient and ineffective: creeping inflation in the form of the so-called inflationary overhang had continued until the dramatic attempt to cut the Gordian knot by raising prices in 1970. Altogether, the decline inherited by the subsequent period was not the worst, save for the frustration due to the prolonged stagnation of wages.

Why have I devoted so much space to this "list of mistakes," which could besides be further expanded? I was largely concerned with beginning from the "reverse side of the coin," so as to avert any suspicions of an apologetic attitude and obviate the oft-used formula "yes, but." In the case of the economy of the PRL during its first 30 years of existence the "buts" are only the reverse side of the medal, a side which cannot serve as the basis for assessments, although it should not be overlooked. I do not intend to oppose to this list of mistakes a list of accomplishments. These are known, although their assessment is biased by the focusing of attention on mistakes and imperfections. Mistakes cannot be avoided in action. But the greatest mistake is absence of action. The active policy of the PRL here can clearly be contrasted with the passive--except in its last 2-3 years--policy of the interwar period [1918-1939]. The fruits of that latter policy are well known. From a purely economic standpoint, the 1913 level of industrial output was just barely attained in 1938. Overall farm output increased slightly, but in per capita terms it had decreased. It is not worthwhile to list the mistakes; their consequences were too obvious. As for referring to genuine accomplishments such as the construction of the Gdynia Harbor or of the Central Industrial Districts, these were the proverbial mere embroidery.

The first quarter-century of existence of the PRL was a period during which mistakes were made, but these mistakes were not on a scale preventing their repair within a relatively short period of time--and even if this did not always take place, these mistakes were not of such gravity as to lead to regression. That scale was attained only in the 1970s. Not only the mistakes of the past were not repaired but a road was entered whose consequences we feel keenly to this very day, and will still feel keenly for a prolonged period of time, in the form of the slowdown in growth rate and in the rise of living standards.

Analysis of the sources of these mistakes would require a separate and extensive study, because not only economic but also political and sociological problems, as well as the influence of external factors and the historical legacy of the past would then have to be analyzed. I will confine myself to several general statements of which the most important is that the mistakes ensued entirely or mainly from lack of moderation in the desire to leap across

development stages, that they represented, so to speak, the cost of that desire. The inclination to overlook the difference between the maximum and the optimum growth rates had arisen quite early, although it was only in the 1970s that it had acquired a scale suicidal to the economy. This inclination is potentially inherent in the socialist system, which is an optimistic system based on the faith in the possibility of a deliberate transformation of the reality, and on concern for not only the current but also the future stages in the life of the nation and the country. In a country of the young and with a high birthrate such as Poland, high development ambitions did and do gain an additional stimulus. This refers not only to the political authorities but also to economic experts and administrators and the society itself. After all, both the overambitious 6-Year Plan and even the so-called policy of accelerated development in the 1970s, a policy which could be termed political-economic "adventurism," had met for some time with broad social support, even though subsequently they culminated in an acute political crisis. Here particularly eloquent is the fact that the slogan of "building a second Poland," in which the society had ceased to believe, was replaced with the mirage of "building a second Japan."

The effects achieved during the first 30 years of the PRL can be summed up in a simple manner. During the 3-Year Plan the growth rate of national income had been close to 20 percent annually, on the average. During the subsequent period it was not far from 10 percent. In the former case, that was a record among the socialist countries, whose reconstruction progressed somewhat more slowly, and at the same time that growth rate was on the whole unmatched by what was taking place elsewhere in the world. During the subsequent 15 years the average growth rate in the successive 5-year plan periods hovered around 6 percent. The comparison of our growth rate with that of the other socialist countries is employed here by way of an illustration. Given this reservation, it can be stated that during the 3-Year Plan period, owing to the rapid pace of our country's reconstruction, we had led all the eight European socialist countries in growth rate. During the 6-Year Plan period the countries whose reconstruction in 1950 had not been as advanced moved abreast of us or even overtook us. And lastly, in the subsequent years, until 1970, we ranked in the middle among these eight countries. The growth rate in the less advanced countries such as Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, by then became consistently higher than that of Poland, and in some years some other socialist country also overtook us. The more developed countries, that is, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Soviet Union, have generally been developing at a somewhat lower rate than Poland, which is quite logical. To avoid any suspicion of apologetics, two comments should be made: owing to Poland's high birthrate, the growth in per capita national income in our country has, nearly as a rule, been somewhat lower. Moreover, the growth curve and, primarily, the curve of investment outlays have been explicitly less smooth than in most other socialist countries: our curves have been alternately lagging or accelerating, especially as regards investment outlays.

The assessment of the dramatic and, unfortunately, longterm consequences of the policy of the 1970s is too well-known, and in the article immediately preceding this one has been formulated so sharply that I will not revert to it. However deep the regression and the burden of the past ensuing from this

policy may be, they do not nullify several basic accomplishments of the active economic policy of the PRL.

We have not, to be sure, become an industrial world power and our industry requires restructuring and considerable streamlining. But still we are an industrialized country with a fairly broad variety of production and respectable modern segments of industry. Greater changes in the technology and equipment of agriculture will serve to reduce still more considerably the proportion of the farm population, but even now already there no longer exist any symptoms resembling the prewar disease of rural overpopulation. Much remains to be done as regards the social, cultural and other aspects of the rural infrastructure, but by now our countryside is no longer generally backward.

Urbanization means not only growth of urban population but also numerous instances of cities in which the mix of occupations and professions as well as urban planning are properly balanced [as published]. True, owing to the wartime devastations and the rapid population increase, the aspirations as regards housing conditions are far from being satisfied, but it is worth recalling that nearly two-thirds of all dwelling units in this country have been built following the establishment of the PRL. Ecological problems have been perceived (as in most other countries) and appreciated not so long ago, so that the crisis in this field has been particularly acute. As a corollary, we must be content with the observation that, while significant material accomplishments are lacking in this field, at present full awareness of the problem exists at least.

It appears that education at all levels leaves much to be desired, both with respect to level of instruction and, above all, to the working conditions of teachers, but the popular saying that Poland is a country of students is not an empty slogan. The effects of the spread of universal education are felt the most by the working class. It has not only grown in numbers but also undergone deep qualitative changes.

Despite the gravity of the crisis, we are a country without employment and with a broad--and, some believe, excessive--range of government services to the public. This achievement cannot be underestimated, but a perhaps even more eloquent indicator of the scale of progress achieved in our country is the fact that the average lifespan has increased by nearly 20 years in comparison with the prewar period.

And finally the most important thing: Two years ago the unusually bold and far-reaching decision was taken to carry out a /profound economic reform/ [emphasized] despite the unfavorable attendant conditions. The crisis conditions and all sorts of resistance prevented us from advancing as far as we might desire and as had been expected by a substantial segment of the society and even by professional economists. It will not be easy either to accelerate the pace of the reform drive in the next few years, because the objective conditions continue to be unfavorable to it. But I believe that the political will to accomplish the reform continues to be strong, and that there exist major safeguards for it in the form of the attitude of the principal forces and the principal personages in our political life toward this issue, which will tremendously affect further development.

CONFERENCE DEBATES CHRISTIANITY, SOCIALISM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Wojciech Kubicki: "'Christians under Socialism': International Conference in Warsaw"]

[Text] "Christians under socialism: experiences and prospects" is the thematic framework of the 2-day national conference of secular and ecclesiastical Christian activists that opened on 29th of this month in Warsaw.

Subject to appraisal was the rise to power of the progressive Christian social movement in shaping socialist Poland over the past 40 years. Against this background were defined the tasks as well as the direction of the movement's future activity. Among the more than 400 participants in the conference were ecclesiastical and secular activists from the socialist and developing countries.

Attending the proceedings were Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Augustyn Kogut, vice chairman of the PRON National Council; and Jozef Wiejacz, undersecretary of state of foreign affairs.

The paper characterizing the penetration of social thought and the progressive Christians' movement into the nationwide efforts to develop socialism in the PRL was presented by Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the Main Board of the Christian Social Association and member of the State Council. Here are the essential ideas of that presentation: After World War II, for the first time in history, Christianity and socialism met on such a scale and in such a broad sphere.

In Poland, a country with great Christian traditions, a country with an individual, unusually unfolded and agonizing past, socialism grew out of indigenous social needs, realizing the aims of Polish patriotism.

Together with a new kind of sociopolitical relations was maturing the process of respecting different beliefs connected with people's outlook on life, beliefs which differentiate without dividing people, but allowed them to work together for the common national cause in the spirit of social progress. The progress of dialogue and civic cooperation was maturing.



Through our activity we supported and still support everything that serves normalization, that is conducive to overcoming conflicts and to the forging of good mutual relations. The foundation of those relations is the lasting affirmation of the socialist political system as well as an awareness, confirmed by statute, that all beliefs possess equal rights in the policy of the country.

In matters of Polish reasons of state, in ideological-political and constitutional affairs, our movement occupies its own independent position, which often departs from the notions of the hierarchy or its individual members.

Conflictual situations, which we opposed with all our might, never forced us from the path which we adopted, a path of constructive participation in socialist transformation as the only proper perspective for developing Poland.

An important expression of the new trials of the country's postwar growth is the gradual increase in the role of allies in the cause of socialism. Lately this has been finding a reflection in the PRON's canon.

We have always spoken out, and we continue to do so, against all tendencies to politicize religion and church, against the justification by motives connected with people's worldview of all political attitudes, irrespective of their hues.

All involvement on the part of religion, church, or churches in politics is detrimental to them, to Christianity and its timeless mission; it is also detrimental to a working class nation and to the political goals it represents.

We declare ourselves opposed to the creation of political constructs based on the premise of a religious philosophy of life, irrespective of the ideological direction. We wish the church to remain the church and not be subjected to political manipulation from any side. We do not want religion to become the signboard for any politics.

The experiences of 40 years of the PRL demonstrate that there exists a calculable correlation between the participation of Christians in the realization of socialist principles and the creation of conditions for the fulfillment of its religious mission in a country that is building socialism. The more open Christianity is in the face of socialism, the more extensive the dialogue and cooperation, the larger becomes its role in the construction of a new life, in the creation of a humanistic world.

Ecclesiastical and secular Christian activists from home and abroad rose to speak at the conference. Among others, these were Archbishop Vladimir, the Krasnodar and Cuban Metropolitan from the USSR; Bishop Tadeusz Majewski, representative of the Polish Ecumenical Council and head of the Polish Catholic Church; Ladislav Kopriva, vice chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party and minister of the Czechoslovak Government; Dietrich Voit Berger, member of the CDU Presidium and chairman of the Berlin branch of that party; and representatives of Christians from Bulgaria, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Cuba, Zimbabwe, and Hungary.

Among other things, there was pointed out the necessity of continued support from democratic reform activity as well as the need to strengthen conditions for community participation in deciding the affairs of the people and the country.

The conference emphasized the need to consolidate friendly ties and extensive contacts among all Christians in socialist and developing countries. It recognized as essential the strengthening of good relations between church and state on the basis of mutual respect, understanding, and tolerance. It emphasized that an important obligation of the progressive Christian movement was to shape a political culture based on dialogue and the search for common paths of action.

We consider--it is on record--that today Poland needs a social movement in order to activize production, build market stability, and satisfy social needs. The necessity was stressed of assisting all national efforts which are aimed at strengthening world peace and at opposing the creation of hostility in international relations.

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Not theory, but life has demonstrated that people differing in worldview, beliefs, or in tastes need not find themselves at opposing political extremes at all. Moreover, differences in worldview notwithstanding, cooperation is possible in the name of goals which are recognized as loftier and worthwhile achievements. Practice has demonstrated this not only in Poland, but in many, and above all socialist, countries; it is worth noting, however, the pioneering advances of Poland along this route, inaugurated by the first agreement signed in 1950 between the government of the PRL and the Episcopate.

Just as in past decades, but perhaps to a greater degree now than at any time in the past, socialist Poland needs honest cooperation between believers and nonbelievers, between Marxists and people with a fideistic worldview.

The national conference of the Christian Social Association, organized on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of PRL, was devoted to the problem of "Christians under socialism: experiences and prospects." At it, attention was justly directed precisely to this, today's <sup>urgent</sup> need for cooperation. In a country with a tradition of tolerance on the one hand, and a love of freedom on the other, such as we have in Poland, honest cooperation likely is and will be possible in the name of further democratization of relations in this country, in the name of morality and social justice, of cultural and material progress for the whole nation, above all, of peace.

Experience shows that differences in worldview do not have to interfere here, and sometimes they even bring richness and diversity of motives to work in a good cause. For pure intentions and honest work really are important, hence so are values which are accepted universally, irrespective of differences connected with people's outlook on life.

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POSTWAR RELATIONS WITH VATICAN HIGHLIGHTED

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 31, 29 Jul 84 pp 1,4,5

[Article by Zygmunt Tyszką: "In the 40-Year Postwar Period"]

[Text] The nearly total absence of relations between Poland and the Vatican during the first 15 or so postwar years had been due to a number of factors, most of which concerned specifically Polish problems, although at the same time they were linked to a kind of "cold war" that had existed between the Vatican and what is conventionally called the East.

The formal reason for the absence of relations was the Vatican's non-recognition of the Government of National Unity formed in Warsaw in June 1945. The Vatican kept up diplomatic relations with the emigre Polish government in London, and the ambassador of that government, Prof Kazimierz Papee, continued to reside in the Vatican. On 12 September 1945 the Government of National Unity adopted a resolution abrogating the Concordat concluded between the Apostolic See and the Polish Republic. The reason given for this demarche was the legal regulations promulgated by the Apostolic See during the Occupation [of Poland, by Germany], which conflicted with the provisions of the Concordat.

Another major cause of the negative attitude of the government in Warsaw toward the Vatican was the failure of the Apostolic See to recognize Polish ecclesiastical administration in the Western and Northern Territories. The issue remained open for more than the first postwar quarter-century. The Vatican claimed that the final settlement of the legal status of the former German dioceses had to wait until a peace treaty would be signed with Germany. In reality, the ecclesiastical administration of the Western and Northern Territories had become entirely Polish already by August 1945. However, from the formal-legal standpoint that was a provisional situation, because the old prewar structures remained legally binding, as was made clear in the successive annual editions of the Vatican's "Annuario Pontificio." The Polish Government had been insistently demanding the normalization of the ecclesiastical administration.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s Polish-Vatican relations had further deteriorated.

On 30 June 1949 the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith decreed the excommunication of the members and sympathizers of the communist and worker parties as well as of those directly collaborating with them. The Polish Government reacted very sharply to this decree, declaring that, among other things, it conflicts with the laws of the land in Poland. In practice, the Congregation's decree was not enforced in Poland by the Church authorities, but it caused numerous tensions and perturbations in Church-State relations.

Despite these problems, on 14 April 1950 an accord was signed between the Polish Episcopate and Polish Government. That was the first ever postwar agreement to be concluded between an episcopate and the government of a socialist country. But it was at the same time a purely domestic agreement in which the Apostolic See did not participate in any way. In the first half of the 1950s all contacts on the Vatican-Warsaw line remained frozen. The first signs of a possible change in this situation began to emerge once the successor to the deceased Pope Pius XII, Cardinal Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, who adopted the name of John XXIII, was elected on 28 October 1958. During an audience given to the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican, the new Pontiff did not accept letters of accreditation from the ambassador of the emigre government in London, Prof Kazimierz Papee. Four years later, on 20 November 1962, John XXIII received at an audience Jerzy Zawieyski, a prominent Catholic figure and writer, who was also a deputy to the Parliament and a member of the Council of State, and who happened to be in Rome on a private visit. This was the first postwar occasion on which the Pontiff had received a representative of an official body of the Polish state authorities.

But while the brief yet enormously rich and fruitful papacy of John XXIII initiated the first breaking of ice between the Vatican and Poland, the first practical implementation of the rapprochement between the Apostolic See and the socialist countries occurred during the papacy of his successor, Paul VI, who was elected as the Pontiff on 21 June 1963. During his papacy an orientation that by now is colloquially termed the Vatican's Eastern policy began to gain ascendancy in the Vatican: this refers to direct contacts between the Apostolic Capital and the European countries having the socialist system of society. The authorities and governments of these countries, too, began to realize, though sometimes not without disputes, that the road to the normalization of church-state relations must lead through Rome.

During the first few years of the papacy of Paul VI this new direction of the Vatican's policy began to bear fruit. On 15 September 1964 a partial agreement between the Vatican and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic--the first agreement of its kind to be concluded between the Vatican and the government of a socialist country--was signed in Budapest. This was followed by the agreement of 25 June 1966 signed in Belgrade by representatives of the Vatican and socialist Yugoslavia and crowned 4 years later, on 14 August 1970, by the commencement of full diplomatic relations. So far as contacts between the Vatican and Poland are concerned, they began somewhat later.

A highly important event in the relations between Poland and the Apostolic See--or rather, in view of their previous absence--was the visit made to Poland early in 1967 by the Rev. Agostino Casaroli, undersecretary of the Vatican's Council for Public Affairs of the Church. Officially his visit was of an intra-Church nature, but its practical significance was far greater.

The course of the visit by the Rev. A. Casaroli, who was known as an executor of the Vatican's Eastern policy, was atypical and of a nature rarely encountered in contacts of this kind. The sojourn of the Vatican's representative lasted nearly 2 months, from 14 February until 6 April, and it was twice interrupted by trips of several days each to Rome, followed by return trips to Poland. During his visit he participated in a conference of the Polish Episcopate and toured all of Poland's dioceses as well as the KUL [Catholic University of Lublin] and a number of monasteries. During these travels he talked both with the bishops and the clergy and the faithful. He also met with representatives of the Polish groupings of lay Catholics--the PAX Association and the ChSS [Christian Social Association].

Thus there is no doubt that the Rev. Casaroli's visit was intended to gain the fullest possible familiarity with the life and problems of the Church in Poland and present his observations to the Apostolic See, and primarily to the Holy Father Paul VI. Soon after that visit was over, on 22 May 1967, the Holy Father Paul VI changed the legal status of the Polish bishops administering the dioceses of Wroclaw, Opole, Olsztyn and Gorzow, appointing them Apostolic administrators "ad nutum Sanctae Sedis," that is, making them henceforth directly subordinate to the Holy Father.

Less than 3 months after that visit, the Holy Father Paul VI appointed the Rev. Agostino Casaroli archbishop and at the same time elevated him to the rank of Secretary of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, a position equivalent to that of minister of foreign affairs.

This first visit of the Vatican's emissary initiated a large number of contacts along the Vatican-Warsaw line. Two years after the Rev. A. Casaroli's visit, in May 1969, Poland was visited by Father Pedro Arrupe, the then General of the Jesuit Order. Father Arrupe's visit, while of a religious nature, already included certain contacts with representatives of the state authorities. In all the larger localities which he had visited while touring the buildings of the Jesuit Fathers, he was welcomed by representatives of local authorities. On the last day of his visit, Father Arrupe paid a visit to the director of the Office for Religious Denominations, Dr. Aleksander Skarzynski.

The first official contact between representatives of the PRL Government and the Apostolic See took place at the Vatican during 27-30 April 1971.

The Polish delegation included: Vice Minister Dr. Aleksander Skarzynski, director of the Office for Religious Denominations, and Stefan Staniszewski, department head at the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. The Vatican was represented by: Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, secretary of the Council for

Public Affairs of the Church, and Bishop Gabriel Montalvo, advisor to the Nunciature. Both sides exchanged views and agreed upon successive talks to be held prior to reaching an agreement on a specified date.

Soon afterward, on 17 October 1971, ceremonies leading to the Beatification of Father Maksymilian Kolbe were held at the Vatican. The ceremonies at the Basilica of St. Peter were attended by an official delegation of the authorities of the PRL, consisting of Dr Aleksander Skarzynski, director of the Office for Religious Denominations, and Wojciech Chabasinski, ambassador of the PRL in Rome. That was an event whose significance transcended the Beatification itself. Directly after the ceremonies were over, the members of the delegation of the PRL authorities were received by the Holy Father Paul VI, with whom they had a brief, cordial conversation.

In mid-November 1971 another contact took place between the representatives of the Vatican and the PRL authorities, this time in Poland. At the time, Archbishop A. Casaroli and Bishop G. Montalvo arrived in Warsaw. The Polish side in the talks was represented by Vice Minister Dr A. Skarzynski and department head at the MSZ S. Staniszewski. Following these talks a joint communique declaring the need to continue them was announced in Warsaw and in Rome.

Thus, the year 1971, while it did not yet bring specific and positive solutions regarding relations between the Vatican and Poland, undoubtedly became a turning point, as the year in which contacts were initiated at the official level. The 1970s were to bring a number of major events in this field.

The first of these events was the Vatican's decision, taken on 15 October 1972, to finally terminate the mission of the administrator of the affairs of the Embassy of the Emigre Government at the Vatican, Prof Kazimierz Papee.

But even earlier there had occurred a highly important event which did away with one of the greatest obstacles to the full normalization of relations between Poland and the Vatican. On 28 June 1972 the Holy Father Paul VI settled with his bull "Episcoporum Poloniae coetus" in a definitive and final manner the issue of ecclesiastical administration of Poland's western and northern territories. The boundaries of the dioceses were adjusted to Poland's western frontier, and their heads were granted full canonical rights.

Following that historic decision, contacts between the Vatican and Poland became increasingly lively and the intervals of time between successive meetings grew shorter.

Early in November 1973 the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski came to Italy on an official visit. On 12 November he was received at an audience by Pope Paul VI. Less than 3 months later, on 4 February 1974, a return visit to Poland was paid by Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, heading a Vatican delegation. Archbishop Casaroli was received by the Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski, and the then Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz.

The official part of the visit by the Vatican delegation was concluded by the announcement of a joint communique which declared that, among other things, both sides would consider establishing regular working contacts.

Before flying from Warsaw to Rome, Archbishop Casaroli released a statement to the press in which, referring to the visit paid to Pope Paul VI at the Vatican by Minister Stefan Olszowski, he declared that that visit opened a new page in the history of mutual relations, and that the decisions then taken could be regarded as presaging a turning point in the history of relations between Poland and the Apostolic See.

On 4 and 5 July 1974 a representative of the PRL Government, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek, sojourned in Rome and held talks with the representative of the Apostolic See, Archbishop A. Casaroli. The communique announced at the end of these talks confirmed that the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See would establish regular working contacts.

That terse communique signaled the beginning of a wholly new stage in relations between the Vatican and Poland. These relations now became formally institutionalized, making possible regular official contacts between both sides on all issues of interest to them. In connection with these decisions, the then chairman of the PRL Council of Ministers, in cooperation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, on 24 September 1974, appointed Dr Kazimierz Szablewski as Chief of the Team for Regular Working Contacts between the Government of the PRL and the Apostolic See, with the rank of Councilor-Plenipotentiary Minister.

On 5 and 6 November of the same year Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek again sojourned at the Vatican and held talks with Archbishop Agostino Casaroli. Following that visit, the Apostolic See Press Spokesman Prof Federico Alessandrini made public a communique stating that Archbishop Luigi Poggi, the Apostolic Nuncio for Special Missions, was designated the head of a delegation of the Apostolic See for regular working contacts between the Apostolic See and the Polish People's Republic.

On 23 December 1974 Councilor-Plenipotentiary Minister Kazimierz Szablewski was received by the Vatican's Secretary of State Cardinal Jean Villot, to whom he handed a letter from Stefan Olszowski, PRL minister of foreign affairs, stating that he was officially designated as the head of the Polish delegation for regular working contacts with the Apostolic See. Minister K. Szablewski was also received by Archbishop Agostino Casaroli and met with Archbishop Luigi Poggi.\*

Two months later, on 25 February 1975, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, the chairman of the Apostolic See's permanent working group for contacts with the PRL

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\*Minister Kazimierz Szablewski performed his duties uninterruptedly until 1982. At present the functions of head of the team are exercised by Minister Jerzy Kuberski.

Government, arrived in Poland. Archbishop L. Poggi handed to Minister S. Olszowski an official letter from Cardinal Villot, the Vatican's secretary of state, appointing him the head of the team for regular working contacts with the PRL Government. By the same token, a formal exchange of documents by both sides was carried out in the Vatican and in Warsaw.

Here it is apposite to point out several special aspects of this stage of the relations between the Vatican and the PRL Government--a stage that has continued uninterruptedly to this very day. First, the exchange of documents that took place was not tantamount to the presentation of letters of accreditation--a formality followed when appointing ambassadors to various countries. By the same token, both working group heads are not members of the diplomatic corps. Their official status appears to be something without precedent. Secondly, the head of the Polish team resides permanently in Rome, whereas the head of the Vatican's team merely pays visits to Poland. This existing situation does not, of course, detract from the importance and significance of mutual relations along the Vatican-Poland line, and at the same time it does not mean that these contacts will not at some suitable moment evolve into full diplomatic relations.

The first visit of Archbishop Luigi Poggi in his capacity as head of the Vatican's team lasted for a month, from 25 February till 25 March 1975. In the subsequent years Archbishop Poggi made quite a few visits to Poland, on the average twice or thrice a year, meeting and holding talks with both the members of the state authorities of the PRL and the representatives of the Catholic Church.

An important event in the history of the relations between the Vatican and Poland was the visit paid to Pope Paul VI on 1 December 1977 by the then First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Edward Gierek during his official visit to Italy.

The fact that such a meeting became possible was, on the one hand, clear proof of the importance attached by both sides to mutual contacts, and on the other it presaged the continuation and expansion of these contacts. This was voiced by both the Pontiff and E. Gierek.

Less than a year following that meeting arrived the memorable day of 16 October 1978 when the Metropolitan Archbishop of Krakow Carol Cardinal Wojtyla was elevated to St. Peter's Throne and adopted the name of John Paul II.

The ceremony of the inauguration of the new Pontiff on 22 October was attended by an official delegation of PRL authorities headed by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, who was also received by the Pontiff at a private audience. John Paul II also met with other members of the delegation. On 23 October the Pontiff dispatched to the chairman of the Council of State an official notice of the assumption of papal duties.



Already at the beginning of his papacy John Paul II expressed the wish to visit the land of his fathers. Following a series of consultations the date of the Holy Father's visit was, in accordance with his wishes, set for June 1979. On 2 March the chairman of the Council of State dispatched to John Paul II a letter in which, on behalf of the authorities of the PRL and himself, he conveyed to the Pontiff expressions of his gratification in connection with the agreed-upon visit to Poland. Prior to that date, from 22 till 26 March 1979, another official visit to Poland was made by the then secretary of the Council for Public Affairs of the Church, Archbishop Agostino Casaroli. The Vatican's emissary was received by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, and Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz. Archbishop A. Casaroli also held talks with Minister E. Wojtaszek and the director of the Office for Religious Denominations, Minister Kazimierz Kakol.

On 2 June 1979 began the memorable first pilgrimage of John Paul II to the Fatherland.

The Holy Father also came to Poland in his capacity as the Vatican's head of state, which imbued his talks with the authorities of the PRL with the nature of international contacts. During his sojourn in Poland John Paul II met a couple of times with representatives of the supreme authorities of the PRL. The public declarations stressed, among other things, the importance and significance of relations between Poland and the Apostolic See and the intention to continue their successful development.

On 13 November 1980, that is, already during the post-August period [following the rise of Solidarity], the Holy Father John Paul II received at audiences three personages from Poland, one after another: Prof Dr Jerzy Ozdowski, member of the Council of State; Councilor-Minister Plenipotentiary Kazimierz Szablewski, head of the PRL team for regular working contacts with the Apostolic See; and Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, secretary of the Episcopate of Poland. Special attention should be paid to the visit of Minister Kazimierz Szablewski, who was received by the Pontiff for the first time since the beginning of his mission. In his previous activities Minister K. Szablewski had remained in contact with the Vatican's Secretariat of State and the Council for Public Affairs of the Church.

Beginning 1 January 1980 the Vatican began to publish a Polish-language edition of the Vatican's organ, L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO. Following bilateral talks, the Government of the PRL decided to permit the dissemination of this monthly in Poland. The related documents were signed in Warsaw on 21 November 1980 by Archbishop Luigi Poggi and Minister Kazimierz Szablewski. Henceforth, apart from a brief interruption during the initial stage of the Martial Law era, the Polish-language edition of L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO has been regularly disseminated in Poland.

The year 1981 was not a period favorable to further expansion of contacts between the Vatican and Poland. This was due to several events which were pregnant in consequences. On 13 May 1981 a criminal attempt at assassinating the Holy Father John Paul II was made in St. Peter's Square in the Vatican. As a result, for several months the Pontiff was practically unable to exercise

his functions. Soon afterward, on 28 May, died Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland. And lastly, the entire year 1981 was a period of tumultuous social tensions in Poland, which relegated, so to speak, to a secondary plane direct diplomatic contacts along the Vatican-Poland line.

Despite such a difficult and complex situation, however, these contacts continued. Of them, the most important was the sojourn in Poland of the Vatican's secretary of state, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, who arrived in Warsaw as the representative of the Holy Father John Paul II at the funeral ceremonies for Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, which were held on 31 May.

Following his arrival in Poland, Cardinal A. Casaroli was received on 30 May by the then first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania. On 1 June, he also held a meeting with Henryk Jablonski, the chairman of the Council of State, and with Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The representatives of the authorities of the PRL conveyed to A. Casaroli their repeated best wishes for a speedy recovery of the health of John Paul II.

On 4 June 1981 the Holy Father John Paul II dispatched three separate telegrams to the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the chairman of the Council of State, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, thanking them for their expressions of solidarity and for their best wishes for his recovery following the assassination attempt.

The growing sociopolitical crisis in Poland and the country's tense situation did not afford in the second half of 1981 a suitable atmosphere for direct contacts along the Vatican-Poland line. However, these contacts were regularly maintained in an indirect manner. The new Primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, met several times with the representatives of the highest party and state authorities in Poland, including the reelected--on 18 October--[First] Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski, with whom he met on 21 October. At the same time, the Primate of Poland made several trips to Rome, each time holding talks on the situation in Poland with the Holy Father John Paul II and Vatican representatives.

On 13 December 1981 martial law was introduced throughout Poland. In face of this fact, it is to be regarded as a highly significant event that a special envoy of John Paul II arrived in Poland one week later. That was Archbishop Luigi Poggi, the Papal Nuncio for Special Missions and Head of the Team For Regular Working Contacts Between the Apostolic See and the PRL Government.

He was the first foreign representative to visit Poland following the declaration of martial law. On 24 December Archbishop Poggi was received by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The communique following that meeting announced:

"During the conversation Archbishop Luigi Poggi transmitted a letter from Pope John Paul II to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The premier thanked him and assured him that he would consider carefully the opinions contained in the letter. The topics of the conversation were: the situation in Poland, Polish-Vatican relations and the evolution of relations between the state and



the Church in our country. The conversation was held in a spirit of mutual understanding."

The fact of the visit of the Vatican's emissary to Poland under such dramatic circumstances in our country signified that both sides desired to continue the dialogue they had commenced years ago.

In the subsequent months of 1982 the most important issue in the talks between Poland and the Vatican was the question of the second pilgrimage of John Paul II to the Fatherland, planned for August 1982 in connection with ceremonies honoring the 600th anniversary of the presence of the Miraculous Image of the NMP [Holy Virgin Maria] in Jasna Gora. As a result of these talks that visit was rescheduled to 1983.

On 19 July 1982 Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Czyrek arrived in Rome. On 19 and 20 July he held talks with the Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. The Primate of Poland Jozef Glemp, who had been sojourning in Rome at the time, participated in these talks. On 20 July Minister Czyrek was received at an hour-long audience by Pope John Paul II in his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo. Their conversation dealt with the question of the Pontiff's visit to Poland and the relations between the State and the Church.

The date of the arrival of the Holy Father John Paul II in Poland was fixed during a meeting held on 8 November 1982 between the Primate of Poland Jozef Glemp and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The press spokesman of the Episcopate of Poland reported that date on 30 January 1983. The following day, 31 January, Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski presaged in his speech in the Parliament the possibility of establishing normal diplomatic relations between the Government of the PRL and the Vatican. He declared: "We believe that--provided appropriate premises are created, worthy of a visit of such importance--the coming of John Paul II to Poland can contribute to the further development of a constructive dialogue between the State and the Church in Poland as well as of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Apostolic See. Fruitful mutual contacts are bringing us closer to a complete normalization of relations." While subsequently answering the questions of journalists, Minister Olszowski declared: "...In referring today to a broadly conceived normalization of relations with the Apostolic See I meant both a definite nature of these relations and the issue of the eventual future establishment of the office of the Papal Nuncio in Poland, on which agreement by both parties would be needed."

To be sure, the issue of full diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Poland has been mentioned repeatedly in various comments, reflections and speculations in this country and abroad, ever since the first official ties had been established in 1974 between the Vatican and the Government of the PRL, but Minister Olszowski's comment represented the first official declaration by a representative of the PRL authorities on this issue. Already the immediately following period was to show that this was not an isolated comment.

In March 1983 Archbishop Luigi Poggi made another visit to Poland. During his sojourn he also met with Minister S. Olszowski and discussed with him problems ensuing from Polish-Vatican relations and relating to the preparations for the visit of John Paul II to Poland, announced for June 1983.

The year 1983 began under the sign of preparations for the second pilgrimage of John Paul II to the Fatherland. On 19 March a letter of invitation was sent to the Holy Father by the Primate of Poland and on 22 March a similar letter was sent by the chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski. In March Jozef Czyrek again held talks in the Vatican regarding the visit. On 21 April the Holy Father, in his letter to the chairman of the Council of State, accepted the invitation. The letter of John Paul II stated: "I also trust...that it (the visit) will promote the further development of relations between the State and the Church as well as between Poland and the Apostolic See." In mid-April a delegation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs led by Vice Minister Konrad Straszewski sojourned in the Vatican. It held talks with the heads of the Vatican's security service and the vice president of the Italian Police.

Almost on the very eve of the coming of the Holy Father to Poland, from 30 May till 4 June 1983, at the invitation of Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski, the secretary of the Council for Public Affairs of the Church, Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, paid an official visit to Warsaw. He held important talks with the minister of foreign affairs regarding the Pontiff's coming visit. He was received by the chairman of the Council of State and the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The second pilgrimage of the Holy Father John Paul II to the Fatherland lasted from 16 till 23 June 1983.

On the second day of the Holy Father's visit, a meeting between John Paul II and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski took place at the Belvedere. The talks were held within a small circle that included Primate Jozef Glemp and Prof Henryk Jablonski. The meeting lasted 2 hours and 20 minutes, more than an hour longer than scheduled by protocol.

But the greatest interest was caused by the unexpected and unscheduled meeting of the Holy Father with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski which took place in Krakow on the evening of 22 June 1983 on the last day of the official sojourn of the Holy Father in Poland. That private conversation, held in the absence of any third party, lasted one and one-half hours.

The year 1984 began under the sign of a large number of important meetings and comments demonstrating the desire of all the concerned parties—the Apostolic See, the Church in Poland and the state authorities of the PRL—for further development and expansion of relations between the Vatican and PRL in the direction of the establishment of full diplomatic relations.

On 5 January 1984 a meeting was held between Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the Primate of Poland, and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the Council of

Ministers. The meeting took place in Natolin Palace near Warsaw and lasted 5 hours.

During that meeting, which dealt with numerous topics, both parties spoke in favor of the further development of contacts between the authorities of the PRL and the Apostolic See.

The numerous comments made by the world press on that meeting also mentioned the interview given by Minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Denominations, to IL SABBATO, an Italian Catholic weekly, in which he declared that: "Our government is wholly ready to resume diplomatic relations with the Apostolic See, and hence also to start talks on this subject."

During 16-19 January 1984 Cardinal Jozef Glemp visited Rome. At the Roman airport he declared, regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican: "Talks are in progress, matters are developing and it seems to me that they are making good progress."

Following his return from the Vatican, where he was received by the Holy Father John Paul II and held talks with Cardinal Casaroli and with Archbishop Silvestrini, Cardinal Jozef Glemp declared: "If the circumstances are favorable, such relations will be established within the present year."

In February 1984 Archbishop Luigi Poggi made another visit to Poland. During his sojourn he was received on 10 February by Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski.

In March 1984 Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Primate of Poland, granted an interview to NIEDZIELA, the weekly of the Diocesan Curia in Czestochowa. In reply to a question regarding the problem of establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican, the Rev Primate declared that, among other things: "Concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRL and the Apostolic See, many misconceptions exist. Here the political optics again is decisive, although in this case the subject is, of course, political....

"We are aware that the Holy Father would be pleased if his Fatherland were to become one of the many countries proud of their diplomatic presence with the sovereign defender of the rights of the faith and ethics--the Apostolic See."

In mid-May 1984 a Polish delegation led by the chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski, arrived in Italy for the festivities honoring the 40th anniversary of the conquest of Monte Cassino by II Polish Corps.

On 19 May Prof Henryk Jablonski was received at an audience by Pope John Paul II. John Paul II also received other members of the Polish delegation and asked them to convey the expressions of his esteem to Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. The meeting was followed by an exchange of gifts between John Paul II and Henryk Jablonski.

Following the audience with the Holy Father, Henryk Jablonski held a talk with the Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli.

Several days after that meeting, on 24 May 1984, Archbishop Luigi Poggi made yet another visit to Poland.

On 4 June Archbishop Poggi was received by Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski. In their conversation stress was placed on the constructive significance of the dialogue between Poland and the Apostolic See.

1386

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CATHOLIC ACTIVIST COMMENTS ON POLITICAL CRISIS

Wroclaw NOWE ZYCIE in Polish No 13, 29 Jul-11 Aug 84 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Dr Jozef Lukaszewicz, vice director of the Institute of Mathematics at the University of Wroclaw, by Andrzej Pasierski]

[Text] Dr Jozef Lukaszewicz is a specialist in the field of applied mathematics, the author of numerous publications in that area. This pupil of Prof Hugon Steinhaus has been connected with Wroclaw University since 1946. In the years 1981-82 he served as rector of this college.

[Question] Professor, what is happening with science? It's rumored that we are moving backward.

[Answer] It's difficult to say that we're moving backward because science is actually making progress all the time. The fund of scientific information grows richer every year.

[Question] But even from official accounts it seems that it's not at its best now, that outlays for science are falling off, that there's a shortage of money for the purchase of equipment, that less and less foreign literature is being imported, that we're simply becoming uncompetitive.

[Answer] But these are different issues. Comparatively speaking, the role and significance of Polish science at this moment is actually probably smaller than it has ever been before. Expenditures on science are independent of science per se. They are commensurate with the standing it enjoys in the assessment of the authorities. Since in general there is little money for anything, science also gets little, though there are those who believe that if there is little in general, then science is precisely where they should lay out more money, for it offers a better chance for the possibility of a better future.

[Question] Does that difficult situation in any way influence the attitudes of people in science?

[Answer] Unquestionably some evidence of crisis exists. That's evident at least in the flight from difficult and general topics, in the flight toward narrow specialization, where it's still easiest to do something.

[Question] But I'm interested in another matter. Can one perceive at present a crisis in attitude in the academic community, an increase in the existence of attitudes arising for example, from the current state of affairs?

[Answer] We've had various crises here, you know. Unquestionably alongside the attitudes that I don't share one can indeed see constructive attitudes.

[Question] Which attitudes don't you share?

[Answer] Selfishness, secluding oneself with one's subjects, the insistence on a quick career without taking the rest into consideration, getting ahead at any price and at the lowest cost. That unquestionably happens. In a situation where a shortage of funds in science is felt, competition becomes more acute in the battle over resources. Summing up the matter in general, it's possible to speak of a certain diminution of attitudes, but that's a complex phenomenon. It results partially from the fact that science today is carried on by a considerable number of people, various people.

[Question] To what extent can the academic community oppose these phenomena, to what extent, using a banal metaphor, is the community on its own ground here? Does anything at all depend on the community?

[Answer] Probably to a large degree, yes. Because it is always a result of individual attitudes. Precisely those inner conditions depend on how each of us, people of science, get involved in university life. At bottom, there's really on possibility of something being imposed from above. If people themselves represent elevated moral attitudes, if they have a social instinct, if they feel responsible for a college, an institute, or a department, then everything works well. The fact remains, however, that at the elections of the college, institute, or departmental administration, for example, many people who in the opinion of their circle would be very suitable for a position of authority refuse to run for it.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I think that many reasons could be found. One of them right now is probably the difficult social and material status of people in the sciences. There was a time when a university professor didn't have to worry about getting a house and supplementing his salary, which often is insufficient, so the margin of free time which he has left now also is very small. Therefore, if someone wanted to take on the additional duties of administering a college, he would have to give up his research, because he can't give up anything else. We're living really on the borderline of a social minimum. And there are still the immemorial difficulties with the bureaucracy, the shortage of good, skilled subsidiary personnel. That obviously additionally discourages many.

[Question] Tell me, is it more difficult for a believer nowadays who doesn't hide his outlook on life to make a career for himself in research or administration?

[Answer] At this moment, that probably isn't taken into consideration, at least in my circle. Many different things such as political involvement, can really carry weight.

[Question] In that case, please explain to me why you were dismissed from the post of rector?

[Answer] Probably not for that reason. ( - - - - ) (Article 2, point 2, of the law on the control of publication and entertainment of 31 July 1981 DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44/83, item 204), but I wouldn't make any conjectures in that direction.

[Question] As a Catholic, do you notice in your circle a certain turn on the part of scientists toward the church?

[Answer] Unquestionably yes. ( - - - - ) (Article 2, item 2, law on the control of publication and entertainment of 31 July 1981 DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44/83, item 204). There's been a definite suppression of the warnings given so far. Back in the postwar years, in the Stalinist period, even profoundly believing people somehow concealed their convictions. Perhaps they concealed them from apprehension, but also from a certain embarrassment, as it were. It was a sort of "tactlessness" then to speak openly in college about your faith. Meanwhile, last year, the Wroclaw Scientific Society organized a discussion on the theme "Religion and Science" and during two conservative meetings there wasn't a single person who attacked religion, pointing to the discrepancy between it and science. And that, as you recall, used to be one of the standard slogans in the not so distant past.

[Question] No, not only then. Today there are still attempts here and there to make summary use of that slogan.

[Answer] But in college they no longer believe in such slogans. They've rejected them.

[Question] Professor, to profess a particular outlook on life must result in some practical consequences in various controls on life, after all. Do you consider that people nowadays are ready to endure these?

[Answer] I think that even if there is a threat of certain unpleasantness, and many people set store by that, people nevertheless have stopped being afraid. They consider the issue of personal convictions something primary.

[Question] One other matter: you are a member of the Primate's Social Council? Please remind us how that council came into being and who comprises it.



[Answer] Well, the council was appointed by Primate Glemp in December 1981 as a committee of 28 people. It has two priests in it. The rest are lay. Usually, though not exclusively, they represent the larger academic circles--Krakow, Warsaw, Lublin, Gdansk, Wroclaw: the Reverend Professor Jozef Majka, Asst Prof Jerzy Pietrzak, and I. The appointment of the council wasn't a new idea. A similar council was active before the war under Primate Hlond.

[Question] What has the council done so far?

[Answer] The council constitutes for Primate Glemp an opinion-giving and consulting body, thanks to which he can learn what lay Catholic Poles think about a given matter. That is its most important function. In addition, members of the council have also elaborated some materials that the primate accepted and disseminated.

[Question] What documents were these?

[Answer] They were the proposals of the Primate's Social Council concerning the sociopolitical situation in the country for spring 1982 and a couple of months later. They analyzed the national economy together with proposals on how to extricate the country from the crisis. (- - - -)  
(Article 2, point 2 of the law on the control of publication and entertainment of 31 July 1981 DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44/83, item 204).

[Question] In the council's opinion, what future awaits us?

[Answer] (- - - -) (Article 2, point 2 of the law on the control of publication and entertainment of 31 July 1981 DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44/83, item 208) the difficult economic situation will have to bring about an acceptance of specific activities.

[Question] Do you consider this an inevitable process?

[Answer] It's a process that is above all purely sensible and I hope that the people governing this country are thinking and observing, and making certain deductions.

[Interviewer] Time will show this very soon. Thank you for the talk.

12584

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## MATHEMATICAL MODEL APPLIED TO CRISIS ANALYSIS

Warsaw STUDIA SOCIOLOGICZNE in Polish No 1, 1984 pp 79-95

[Article by Ryszard Laczkowski, Elblag: "Application of the Catastrophe Theory to Analysis of Polish Crises"]

[Text] In 1980, there were fervent debates in our society over the causes of the sociopolitical crisis in People's Poland. Famous journalists, scientists and politicians aired their views on the subject in the media. In everyday talks among Polish people, at meetings of public and political organizations, the same question was heard: "Why do social crises recur periodically in People's Poland?" This formulation was bound to cause objections on the part of anybody with a scientific or mathematical background. Indeed, a periodic event must be repeated over equal intervals of time, while Polish sociopolitical crises recur over increasingly shorter intervals. This observation caused inquisitive minds to ask the next question: "Does there exist any time regularity between the years in which crises recur in People's Poland? And, if so, can it be the result of some socioeconomic patterns operating in our society?"

To answer these questions, one must first of all define the concept of a sociopolitical crisis as perceived by Polish citizens. A sociopolitical crisis (often referred to as "turmoil") is commonly viewed as a series of public events that involve major disruptions, and personal changes at the position of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR. These events took place in 1956, 1970, 1980 and 1981.

## The Crisis Parabola

The beginning of the chronology of Polish sociopolitical crises is set at 1939, the year when independence was lost, which certainly was the first national "catastrophe" in the annals of the modern Polish state. The time intervals  $\Delta t$ , determining the years of subsequent crises, can be estimated accurate to 1 year using the simple relation

$$\Delta t = 10\sqrt{n}, \quad (1)$$

where  $n = 3, 2, 1$  and  $0$  indicate the serial numbers of consecutive crises. This "numeration" simplifies the relation.

The author introduced equation (1) in 1974, using the data of the preceding crisis. Initially, he looked at it as a mathematical curiosity, demonstrating it to his friends and colleagues as a facetious matter. Later, however, it turned out that the dates of subsequent crises predicted by the equation were confirmed with an astonishing accuracy. This is seen from simple calculations:

$$\begin{aligned} n = 3, \quad \Delta t = 17, \quad 1939 + 17 &= 1956, \\ n = 2, \quad \Delta t = 14, \quad 1956 + 14 &= 1970, \\ n = 1, \quad \Delta t = 10, \quad 1970 + 10 &= 1980. \end{aligned}$$

Special explanation is due relating to the crisis date indicated by  $n=0$ , for which  $\Delta t=0$ . Equation (1) defines the discrete values with an accuracy of one year, and therefore the value  $\Delta t=0$  can only mean that even before completion of one year's time (that is, in late 1981), the next sociopolitical crisis occur. Of course, the introduction of martial law on Dec 13, 1981 preempted this tragic development.

It is seen from the calculations that Poland's sociopolitical crises recurred parabolically rather than periodically. Equation (1) describes the positive half of the parabola, which is termed here the crisis parabola. For easier mathematical manipulations, the equation is converted to the following form:

$$\overline{\Delta t} = 0.1 \cdot \Delta t = \sqrt{n}, \quad (2)$$

as graphically represented in Fig. 1.

The amazing convergence of equation (1) with the dates of Polish sociopolitical crises suggested to the author that the equation might indeed be an objective, albeit simplified, mathematical representation of sociological regularities that are not known precisely but which determine the occurrence of crises in postwar Poland. These regularities cannot be inferred directly from the crisis parabola. Its analysis has also defied the common methods of mathematical interpretation. Only the application of an emerging chapter of mathematics commonly known as the "catastrophe theory" made it possible to reveal certain qualitative patterns which describe the emergence and cessation of sociopolitical crises in Poland.

#### Elements of the Catastrophe Theory

The catastrophe theory is a new chapter in mathematics that has been around about a decade. It was introduced by the French mathematician René Thoma. Unlike the previously used mathematical techniques, the catastrophe theory allows analyzing nonlinear phenomena characterized by drastic (catastrophic) changes of the equilibrium states [1, 2].

The catastrophe theory is primarily concerned with identification of the local qualitative features of the solution of equation systems of the type

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial Z_i} = 0 \quad (i = 1, \dots, m) \quad (3)$$

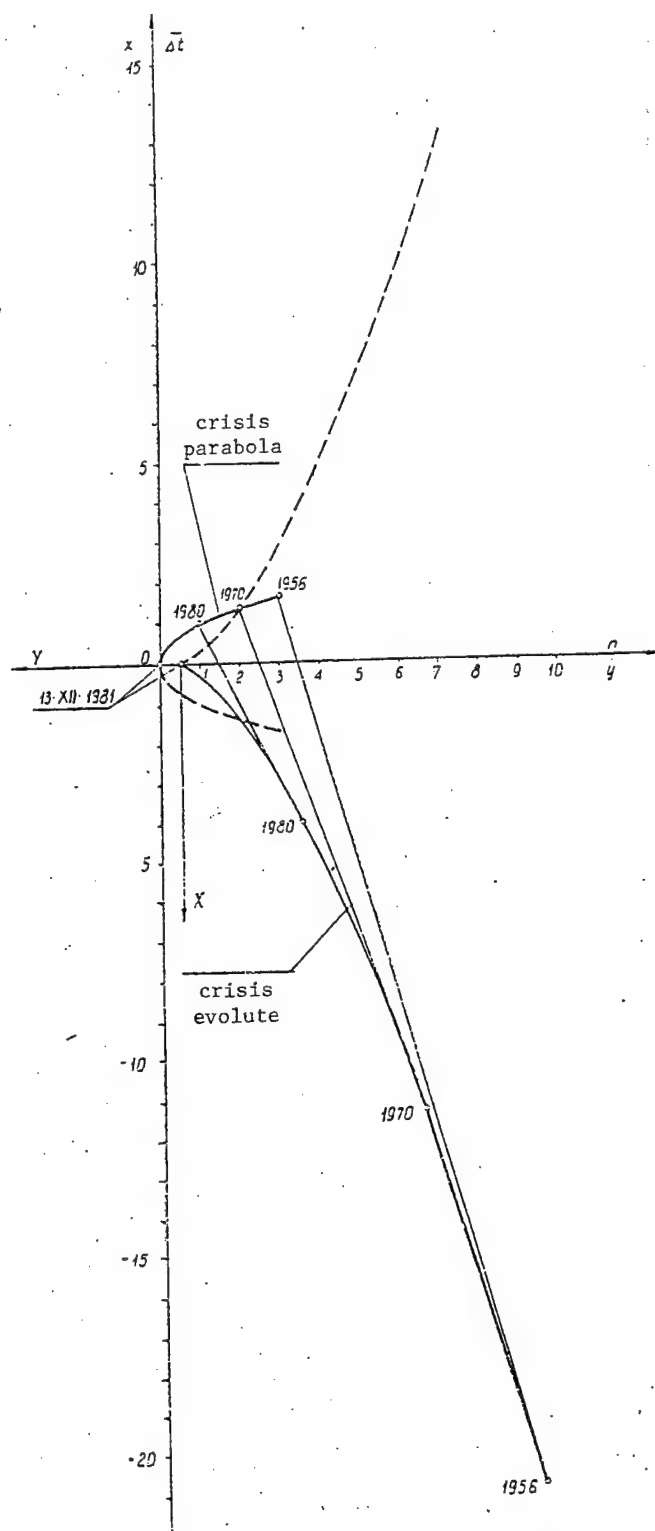


Figure 1. Crisis parabola and crisis evolute

obtained for a given smooth generating potential  $V(Z_i, P_s)$  with  $m$  state variables  $Z_i$  and  $k$  control parameters  $P_s$  ( $s = 1, \dots, k$ ). The system of  $m$  equations (3) contains  $m+k$  variables and defines a  $k$ -dimensional equilibrium surface [3, 4]. On that surface, there exists a certain number of qualitative features of solutions of equations of the type

$$\left| \frac{\partial^2 V}{\partial Z_i \partial Z_j} \right| = 0. \quad (4)$$

That boundary defines the states of critical equilibrium (for which  $V$  does not attain the local minimum) which corresponds to the features of the mapping of equilibrium surface into the control space. The mapping generates the  $(k-1)$ -dimensional boundary of stability in the control space. This mapping determines  $k$  control parameters and in the catastrophe theory is known as the bifurcation set. Its equation is obtained by eliminating  $n$  variables of the state  $Z_i$  from a system of  $n+1$  equations.

The Thoma theorem identifies the possible bifurcation sets as topologically equivalent to one of a so-called elementary catastrophes. Their finite number depends on the number of control parameters  $k$  and is independent of the number of state variables  $m$ . That means that even when analyzing a system with a large number of state variables (for instance, a discretized system) it is possible to make use of an equivalent elementary catastrophe, which is always defined by a small number of variables  $Z_i$ .

If the control space has  $k \leq 4$  dimensions, there exists a maximum of seven elementary catastrophes. They are obtained by "smoothing" of the real multidimensional "germs" otherwise known as organizational centers [1]. Table 1 lists the elementary catastrophes introduced by Thoma. He denoted state variables by  $x$  and  $y$  and the control parameters by  $u, v, w$  and  $t$ .

Table 1. Elementary Catastrophes of Thoma

<u>Catastrophe</u>	<u>Organizational center</u>	<u>Universal smoothing</u>
Bend	$V = \frac{1}{3}x^3$	$V = \frac{1}{3}x^3 + ux$
Vertex	$V = \frac{1}{4}x^4$	$V = \frac{1}{4}x^4 + \frac{1}{2}ux^2 + vx$
Dovetail	$V = \frac{1}{5}x^5$	$V = \frac{1}{5}x^5 + \frac{1}{3}ux^3 + \frac{1}{2}vx^2 + wx$
Butterfly	$V = \frac{1}{6}x^6$	$V = \frac{1}{6}x^6 + \frac{1}{4}ux^4 + \frac{1}{3}vx^3 + \frac{1}{2}wx^2 + tx$
Hyperbolic navel	$V = x^3 + y^3$	$V = x^3 + y^3 + wxy - ux - vy$
Elliptical navel	$V = x^3 - 3xy^2$	$V = x^3 - 3xy^2 + wx^2 + y^2 - ux - vy$
Parabolic navel	$V = xy^2 + x^4$	$V = xy^2 + x^4 + wx^2 + ty^2 - ux - vy$

The concept of smoothing is important for the following reasons. As seen from Table 1, each organizational center can be obtained from a standard smoothing by assigning the value zero to control parameters. There also exists the inverse topological relationship: each variable of one of the centers can be represented by a corresponding universal smoothing.

In applications of the catastrophe theory the question is always asked as to how many basic control parameters exist and how they are interpreted. At this point, a flexible view of the problem is essential, because the control parameters listed in Table 1 need not have easy interpretations and can be complex combinations of various operating factors.

Once the number of control parameters  $k$  is established, one can select from Table 1 those universal smoothings which contain exactly that number of parameters. A specific bifurcation set described initially in an  $n$ -dimensional system must be in the control space equivalent qualitatively to a system defined by the selected type of smoothing. Analyzing such a system is much easier because of the elimination of a large number of the less important state variables during the course of mappings involved in the proof of the Thoma theorem.

#### Vertex Catastrophe

The function defined by equation (2) is inverse to the function

$$n = \overline{\Delta t^2}, \quad (5)$$

which also describes the crisis parabola. The degree of curving of the line is described by the curvature  $k$ , which can be expressed by [5]:

$$k = \frac{1}{\rho} = \frac{\left| \frac{d^2 n}{d \overline{\Delta t^2}} \right|}{\left[ 1 + \left( \frac{dn}{d \overline{\Delta t^2}} \right)^2 \right]^{3/2}}, \quad (6)$$

where  $\rho$  denotes the curvature radius. Using expressions (5) and (6), we obtain the equation for the curvature of the crisis parabola:

$$k = \frac{1}{\rho} = \frac{2}{(1 + 4 \overline{\Delta t^2})^{3/2}}. \quad (7)$$

In mathematics, curvature describes the intensity of variation of the rotation angle of a tangent to a curve as the point of contact moved along it. In a sociological interpretation, the curvature of the crisis parabola can be viewed as a measure of the intensity of sociopolitical change at the time of crisis. It follows from (7) that for the ever-shorter time intervals  $\Delta t$  separating the successive crises, their intensity was increasingly great, as was confirmed by the well-known historical facts.

The curvature radius  $\rho$  is at the same time the radius of the narrow circle that approximates the crisis parabola around the contact point [5]. The

centers of the narrow tangential circles called the curvature centers lie on the curve known as the evolute. In the coordinate system ( $x = \Delta t$ ,  $y = n$ ), the evolute of the crisis parabola is described by the relation

$$x^2 = \frac{16}{27}(y - \frac{1}{2})^3. \quad (8)$$

This is the semicubic parabola (the Neil parabola), which is defined in the article as the crisis evolute (Fig. 1).

Each point of the crisis evolute represents the intensity of sociopolitical change of the crisis, as defined by the point on the crisis parabola. According to (7), the highest intensity was observed in the crisis for which  $\Delta t = 0$ , that is, the crisis of late 1981.

It is known from mathematics [5] that tangents to crisis evolutes are normal to the crisis parabola. The radii  $\rho$  of the osculating circles lie on these normals. The equation of the normal to the crisis parabola at the point with coordinates  $(\Delta t, n)$  appears as:

$$y - n = -\frac{1}{dn/d\Delta t}(x - \Delta t).$$

After using (5) and performing manipulations, we obtain a one-parameter equation of a family of normals to crisis parabola:

$$\overline{\Delta t}^3 + (\frac{1}{2} - y)\overline{\Delta t} - \frac{x}{2} = 0, \quad (9)$$

where  $\overline{\Delta t}$  is the parameter defining a particular normal, and  $x$  and  $y$  are the coordinates of an arbitrary point of that normal.

In order to simplify expressions (8) and (9), we introduce a new system of coordinates  $X = -x/2$  and  $Y = 1/2 - y$ . We now have the expressions:

$$\overline{\Delta t}^3 + Y\overline{\Delta t} + X = 0, \quad (10)$$

$$27X^2 + 4Y^3 = 0. \quad (11)$$

If the crisis evolute (1) is interpreted as the mapping of a certain spatial line lying on the surface  $M(X, Y, Z) = 0$ , then the normals to the crisis parabola described by (10) can be regarded as mappings of the straight lines generating that surface. Its equation is obtained from (10), substituting for the parameter  $\overline{\Delta t}$  the third variable  $Z$ :

$$M(X, Y, Z) = Z^3 + YZ + X = 0. \quad (12)$$

This is the equation of the surface representing the intensity of sociopolitical changes described by the crisis parabola (5).

Assuming that  $M = \partial V / \partial Z$ , we obtain, integrating (12), the function



$$V(X,Y,Z) = \frac{1}{4}Z^4 + \frac{1}{2}YZ^2 + XZ + C,$$

where C is the integration constant, which for  $Z=0$  has the value  $C=0$ . In this way, we obtain the function:

$$V(X,Y,Z) = \frac{1}{4}Z^4 + \frac{1}{2}YZ^2 + XZ. \quad (13)$$

It is seen in Table 1 that this is a universal smoothing describing the vertex catastrophe. It follows that V is the only state variable ( $m=1$ ) and X and Y are control parameters ( $k=2$ ). Proceeding from (3) and (4), we can write the equation system:

$$\frac{\partial V}{\partial Z} = Z^2 + YZ + X = 0,$$

$$\frac{\partial^2 V}{\partial Z^2} = 3Z^2 + Y = 0.$$

Cancelling the state variable Z from these equations, we obtain relation (11), which describes the crisis evolute.

The following conclusions follow from the foregoing relations:

- the crisis evolute having the equation  $27X^2 + 4Y^3 = 0$  defines the stability boundary on the control plane (X,Y);
- the surface  $M(X,Y,Z) = Z^3 + YZ + X = 0$  is the surface of equilibrium states;
- the function  $V(X,Y,Z) = \frac{1}{4}Z^4 + \frac{1}{2}YZ^2 + XZ$  is the potential function and at the same time universal smoothing of the organizational center  $V = \frac{1}{4}Z^4$ .

#### The Surface of Equilibrium States

An analysis of the equilibrium states of systems described by the potential function V is based on a search for critical points at which  $\partial V / \partial Z = 0$ . These are minima, maxima and bend points. The minima describe the static (stable) equilibrium, while the maxima and bend points indicate the states of unstable equilibrium.

Relation (12) describes the surface of equilibrium states represented in Fig. 2 [2]. It is a surface with one fold whose edges generate a smooth three-dimensional curve known as the fold line. It indicates the stability boundary at which  $\partial^2 V / \partial Z^2 = 0$ . The mapping of the folding line onto the control surface is the crisis evolute.

Equation (12) is a third-order algebraic equation in respect of the state variable Z. The number of roots of such an equation depends on the differential [6]:

$$D = 27X^2 + 4Y^3.$$

Three cases are possible:

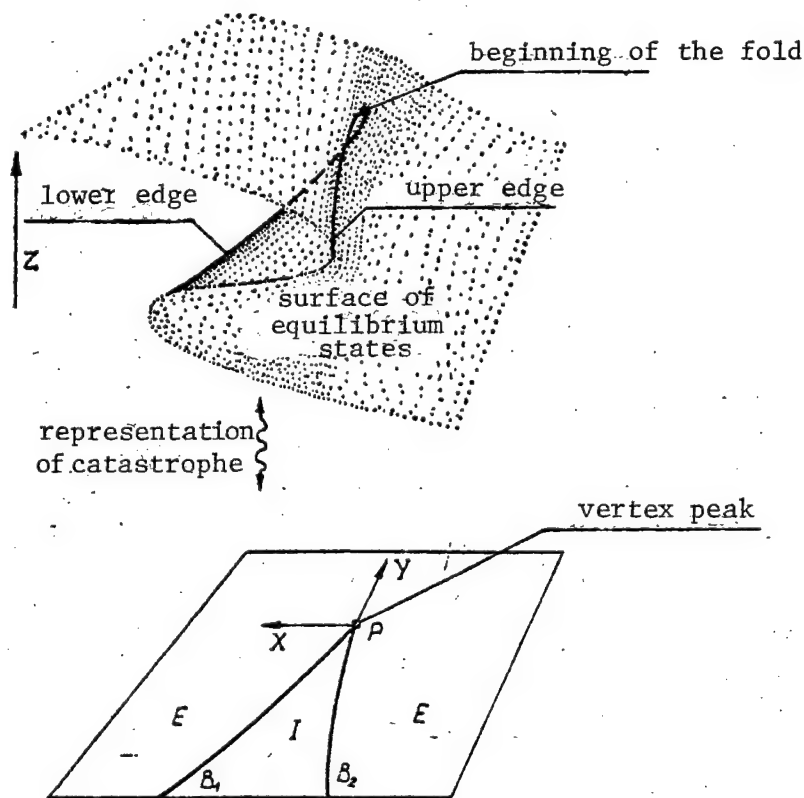


Figure 2. Surface of equilibrium states of the function V.

1. If  $D=0$ , we obtain (11), which describes the crisis evolute on the control surface (Fig. 2). It is known from the theory of third-degree equations that for control parameters  $X = Y = 0$  (12) has one triple root  $Z = 0$ . The geometric image of this solution is the point P (the vertex peak). It is the mapping of the beginning of the fold at which the organization center  $V = \frac{1}{4}Z^4$  occurs (Table 1).

If  $4Y^3 = -27X^2 \neq 0$ , equation (12) has two real roots, one of which is double. This case corresponds to points occurring on branches  $B_1$  and  $B_2$  of the crisis evolute excluding point P.

2. If  $D > 0$ , equation (12) has only one real root. We obtain then the inequality:

$$27X^2 + 4Y^3 > 0,$$

which is satisfied by the coordinates of points lying on the control plane in the set E.

3. If  $D < 0$ , then (12) has three different real roots. The inequality

$$27X^2 + 4Y^3 < 0$$

is fulfilled only at the set of points I which is enclosed between branches  $B_1$  and  $B_2$  of the crisis evolute.

Analysis of the number of roots of (12) can be interpreted geometrically if we look at the intersection point of the equilibrium state surface with the lines normal to the control surface. Besides, each point  $(X, Y)$  of the surface corresponds to a specific contour  $V_{XY}(Z)$ . Figure 3 illustrates characteristic types of such contours drawn for individual elements of the control surface [1].

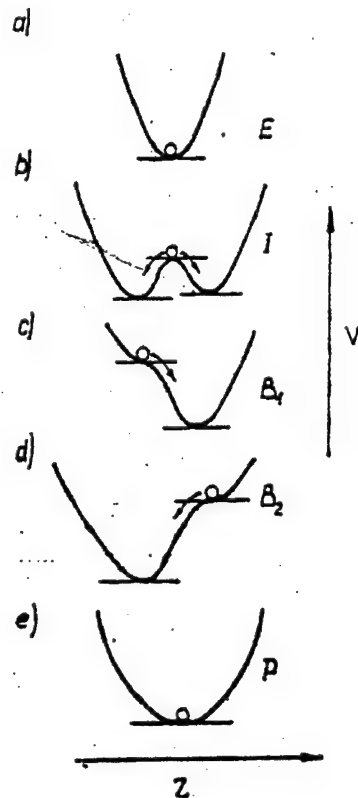


Figure 3. Critical points of the function  $V$ .

In the outer area  $E$  there is always only one intersection point. That means that in this set of values of  $X$  and  $Y$  the function  $V$  has only one critical point. It is the minimum (Fig. 3a), which defines the stable equilibrium.

In the inner region  $I$  there are three intersection points, so that the function  $V$  has three critical points (Fig. 3b). One unstable state (maximum) is located between two stable states (minima).

The normals to the control surface drawn from the points lying on the branch  $B_1$  are tangential to the equilibrium state surface at points lying on the folding line (the stability boundary). This corresponds to the boundary overlap of the maximum and the left minimum, which in effect gives the bend point (Fig. 3c). Likewise, for branch  $B_2$  the maximum overlaps with the right minimum which also gives the bend point (Fig. 3d). That means that the points lying on both

branches of the crisis evolute (except for the point P) correspond to unstable states of the function V.

The normal to the control plane drawn from the apex of the evolute P intersects the surface of equilibrium states only at one point, which is the beginning of the fold. This corresponds to the overlap of all three critical points of the function V at one minimum (Fig. 3e), which indicates the stable equilibrium.

On the basis of these reasonings, we can state that:

- in the region E only states of stable equilibrium occur;
- region I embraces states of small instability which are characterized by small and smooth deviations from the state of unstable equilibrium to the state of stable equilibrium;
- the points on curves B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub> correspond to the state of greater instability characterized by large and sudden leaps from the state of unstable equilibrium to the state of stable equilibrium;
- at the point P a peculiar state of stable equilibrium (minimum) occurs which results from the boundary overlap of two opposite states of major instability (the left and right bend points).

#### Sociological Model of Vertex Catastrophe

The flare-up of a social crisis is caused by a multitude of sociological, economic and political factors. Considering the effects of all possible causes in conventional linear mathematical models fails to yield adequate results, because sociological phenomena are nonlinear by nature. The catastrophe theory allows building sociological nonlinear models which reflect the real social phenomena in much greater detail, while operating with a small number of variables.

Describing a model of social phenomena, one is concerned not only with the mathematical relations and their geometrical images but also and primarily with the basic structural features of the phenomenon and its dynamic qualitative characteristics. These allow understanding the mechanism of evolution of social disruptions and foreseeing their development. They also show how sociopolitical processes can be managed to avoid crisis phenomena.

A basic difficulty in identifying the sociological model of Polish social crises is tying the proper sociological categories to the quantities X, Y, Z, and V. Ordinarily they are not measured by specific numbers, as in physics. For that reason, sociology is often regarded as a "soft" science.

The control parameters X and Y must be the dominating parameters of national government. They should be chosen on the basis of a thorough analysis of the factors operating in all postwar sociopolitical crises. We have found that the most important causal factors were always economic phenomena linked with inflation X in a broad sense, or political processes that can be described by a fairly general concept of democratization Y. Obviously, with these defini-

tions the control parameters "smooth" the sociopolitical realities of Poland to an extent allowing only qualitative further analysis of the sociological model, which is in perfect agreement with the postulates of the catastrophe theory. Yet, this theory, using a limited number of control parameters, provided results that were coherent with the observations of the course of post-war sociopolitical events and with the logic of activities that could protect Polish society from new crises. In the context of universal smoothing, the effects of other less important parameters of sociopolitical situations in Poland were superimposed on the main trend of events only as a variety of information background noise.

The control parameter  $X$  is put into correspondence with the phenomenon of inflation, which is seen especially in the form of rising prices, a decline in real wages, market disorganization and a decline in living standards.

The parameter  $Y$  is put into correspondence with the processes of democratization of social structures, seen in an increased influence of citizens on administrative and economic authorities, an expansion of citizen freedoms and an enhanced feeling of social justice.

The state variable  $Z$  is identified as the state of social tension caused by disaffection with socioeconomic policies of the national government.

The potential function  $V$  is identified as the level of energy of social destruction. Above all, it is a function of social tension  $Z$ . A level of energy  $V$  is a characteristic feature of society where destructive attitudes and actions prevail. A low level of this energy would be observed in a society with predominant constructive features.

Figure 4 shows the surface of equilibrium states of the sociological model of vertex catastrophe. This model illustrates the mechanisms of origination and attenuation of Polish social crises.

The lower part of the surface of equilibrium states corresponds to social peace, as it is characterized by low social tension  $Z$  and low levels of destructive energy  $V$ . Inflation  $X$  increases social tension, which initially increases to a moderate degree. After the curve  $B_2$  is crossed, society enters the region of small instability  $I$ . Under these conditions, conflicts of a limited scope and low intensity arise between society and government. After the curve  $B_1$  is reached, society is in a state of major instability (destructive instability). In that state, even a minor action of the government negatively perceived by society (such as a change in prices or labor quotas) triggers powerful reactions in the form of turmoil and demonstrations. The social tension at that point increases in a leap-like fashion, and the emotional state forms points lying on the upper part of the surface. This is the state of social instability characterized by a powerful social destructive energy  $V$ .

The most effective, although not always feasible, way out of the crisis is a rapid rise in the living standards of society, which involves lowering the

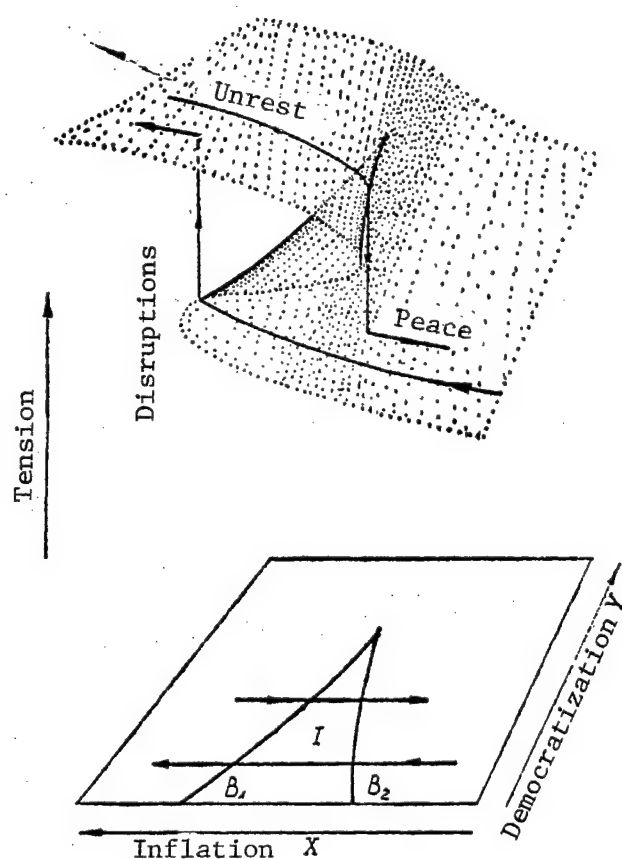


Figure 4. Surface of equilibrium states of the model of Polish crises.

inflation  $X$  (Fig. 4). In this situation, after the curve  $B_1$  is passed, we move first into the region of low instability, where only weak social disturbances manifest themselves. After reaching the curve  $B_2$  (constructive instability), there is a sudden appeasement of society seen in a radical decrease of social tension and a large drop in the level of destructive social energy.

The portion of the surface lying above the beginning of the fold deserves special attention. There are no regions of instable equilibrium, but the points of this portion, according to relation (13), are characterized by high levels of destructive energy  $V$ . This means that excessive democratization of society, especially in the presence of high inflation, can cause prolonged social destructiveness.

#### Trajectory of Polish Crises

The course of Polish sociopolitical crises is easily represented on the control plane. Figure 5 indicates by a broken line the emergence and resolution of successive crises. It is of course very general and can be subjective in

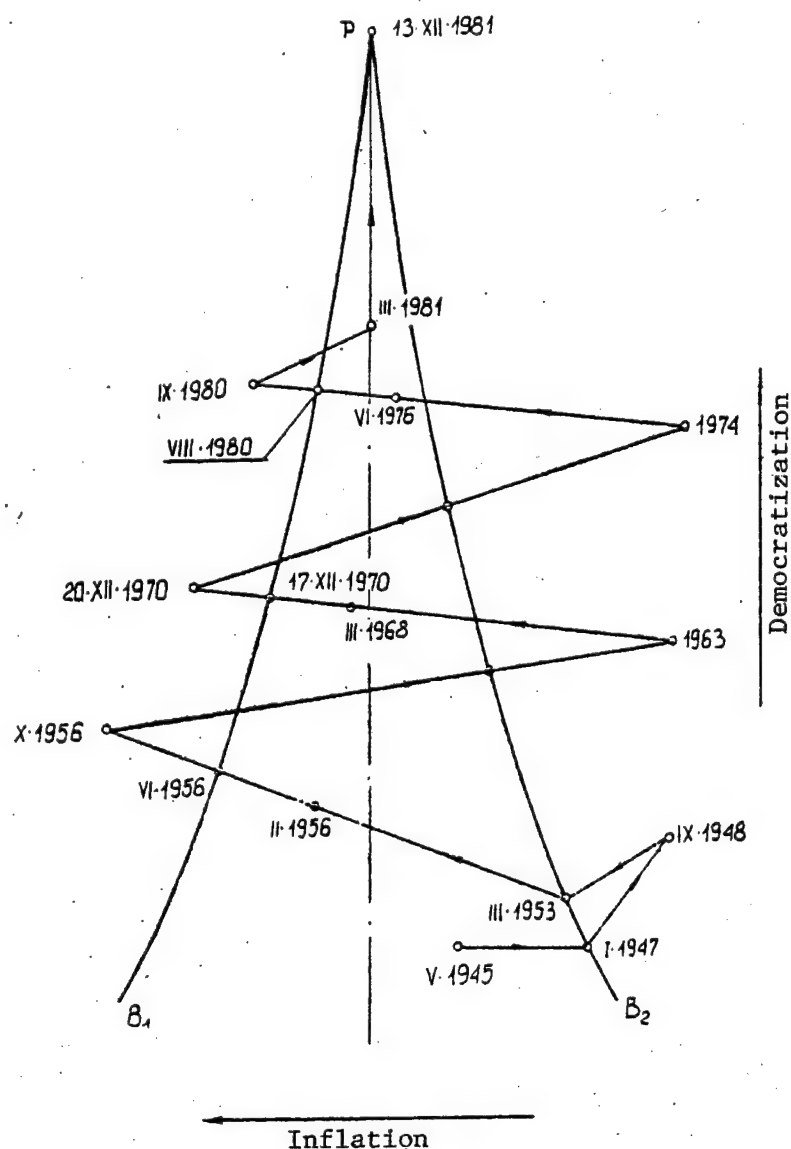


Figure 5. Trajectory of Polish crises.

evaluating the individual historical events and their related changes in values of control parameters. Adding more details to this scheme would be a task for professional historians and sociologists.

Some of the dates indicated on Fig. 5 are dates of well-known historic events:

- May 1945 - end of World War II
- Jan 1947 - election to the first Constitution Sejm
- Sep 1948 - removal of Wladyslaw Gomulka from the post of secretary general of the PPR



Mar 1953 - death of Joseph Stalin  
 Feb 1956 - 20th Congress of the CPSU  
 Jun 1956 - turmoil in Poznan  
 Oct 1956 - Wladyslaw Gomulka elected first secretary of the  
                     Central Committee of the PZPR  
 Mar 1968 - disruptions at universities  
 Dec 17, 1970 - turmoil in Gdansk  
 Dec 20, 1970 - Edward Gierek elected first secretary of the  
                     Central Committee of the PZPR  
 Jun 1976 - turmoil in Radom  
 Aug 1980 - strikes on the Baltic coast  
 Sep 1980 - dismissal of Edward Gierek from the position of  
                     first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR  
 Mar 1981 - Bydgoszcz events  
 Dec 13, 1981 - introduction of martial law.

From Fig. 5 the following general features of Polish crises are observed:

1. Each eruption of a crisis (destructive instability  $B_1$ ) was inevitably preceded by the occurrence of minor social instability seen in a strong ideological ferment (Feb 1956) or public disruptions on a limited scale (Mar 1968 and Jun 1976).
2. Radical changes at the central agencies of the national government resulted in favorable changes in the control parameters and a reduced social tension. Passing through a period of small instability and attaining the parameters of a point on the curve  $B_2$  (constructive instability), a sudden pacification of society set in. An exception to this rule was the latest crisis, because from Sep 1980 to Dec 13, 1981 Polish society remained continually in a state of permanent small instability.
3. The singular point P represents also a peculiar sociopolitical situation. In that case the destructive instability (turmoil - curve  $B_1$ ) overlapped with constructive instability (introduction of martial law - curve  $B_2$ ). Around the point P the destructive energy level V was close to the value of the potential function  $Z_{4/4}$ , representing the organizational center of the sociologic model (Table 1). This reflects the political situation in the nation directly before the introduction of martial law, when the destructive political forces were readying an attack at leadership and the controlling centers of our state.
4. The main cause of eruption of each crisis was a high level of inflation.
5. From a general evaluation of the postwar period, it follows that democratization of Polish society was a continuing process, although there were slowdowns and regressions (e.g., 1948-53).

#### Simple Cases of Control

The same change of control parameters can cause diametrically opposed social effects depending on the state of social equilibrium preceding that change. We now consider simple programs of social control for different initial states.

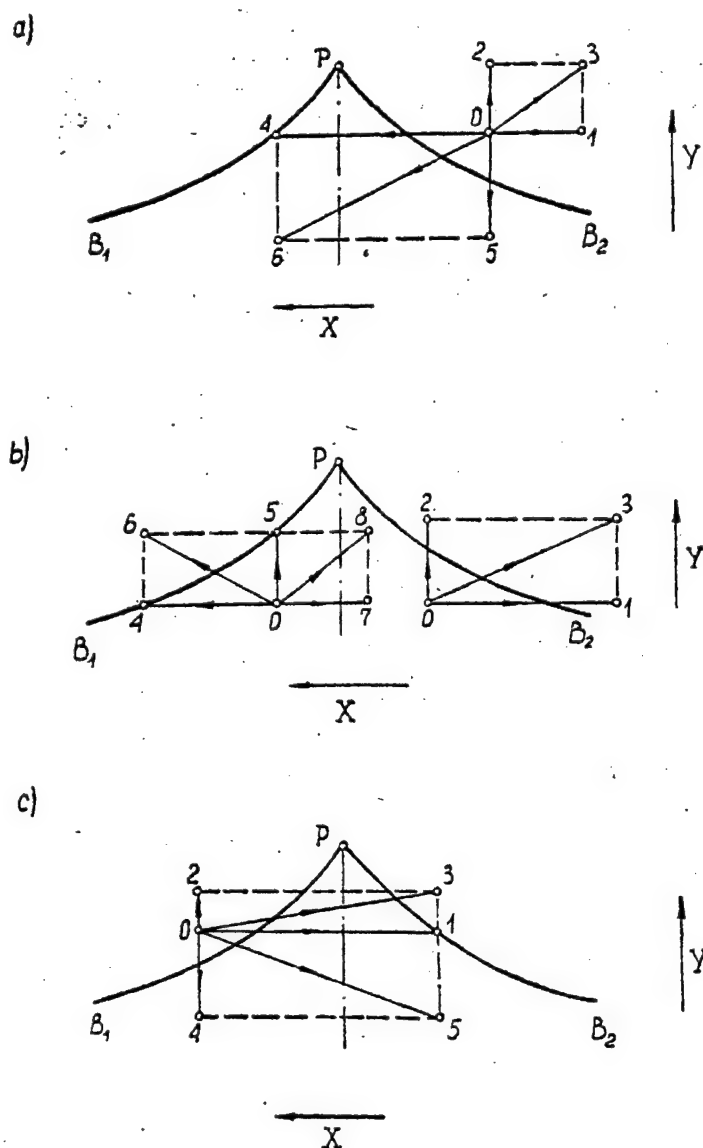


Figure 6. Specific cases of control.

1. Society at rest. This state is indicated on Fig. 6a by point 0, which is a mapping of the point of the lower portion of the surface of equilibrium states. The figure shows that a reduction of inflation (point 1) or increase in democratization (point 2) brings society further from the area of small instability. A most favorable situation is concomitant continuation of both processes (point 3).

A large rise in inflation can cause eruption of social turmoil (point 4), while even a substantial decrease of democratic freedom may at maximum bring society into the state of small instability (point 5). Society will also be in that state if both processes concur (point 6).

2. Society of low instability. The equilibrium state of this society is defined by the point lying on the lower portion of the surface of equilibrium states (Fig. 4), with the mapping of that point being in the region between the curves  $B_1$  and  $B_2$  (Fig. 6b). This region is subdivided into two parts by the axis of the crisis evolute. If point 0 occurs in the right-hand side (small instability has not yet set in, Fig. 3b), increased democratization will bring society from the region of small instability to stable state (point 2). The same change, if it occurs in the left-hand side (after the onset of small instability), will result in a sociopolitical crisis (point 5). It can only be avoided if inflation is reduced at the same time (point 7). It is also seen that in the left region during increasing inflation (point 4) an increase in democratic freedoms can only precipitate the eruption of a crisis (point 6). On the other hand, a reduction of inflation has a stabilizing effect over the entire region of small instability.

3. Social unrest. This is the state indicated by the points of the upper portion of the surface of equilibrium states (Fig. 6c). The quickest way out of the social crisis is by a radical decline in inflation (point 1). Increased democratization (point 2) in this situation will only increase the social destructive energy  $V$ . It can be decreased by limiting the democratic freedoms (point 4). However, that would not lead society out of the region of small instability. Most favorable is a combination of decisive cutdown in inflation with a moderate social democratization (point 3).

### Conclusions

1. Proceeding from the chronology of Polish social crises, it is shown that they evolved in accordance with a model of vertex catastrophe.
2. By using the properties of the model of vertex catastrophe, one gains insight into the mechanism of origination and resolution of Polish crises.
3. The theory of vertex catastrophe can be of help in sociopolitical decision-making by government agencies.
4. The analytic method offered in this paper is of a general applicability and could be used in sociological studies of other societies.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

NATIONAL AUDIT, INSPECTION SYSTEM--Another meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Task Force for the National System of Audits and Inspections, chaired by Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, candidate Politburo member, was held in Warsaw on 30 August. The meeting was attended by members of the provincial PZPR committee task forces for worker-peasant inspectorates. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 84 p 2]

TARNOW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--On 30 August the Tarnow Provincial Defense Committee met to review matters pertaining to the enforcement of the Law on Special Rules Governing the Administration of Justice During the Period of Social and Economic Crisis Containment in selected plants in Tarnow Province. The proceedings were chaired by Stanislaw Nowak, Tarnow Province governor, and attended by Stanislaw Opalko, Politburo member and first secretary of the provincial PZPR committee, and the directors of several plants. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 84 p 2]

LUBLIN DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Provincial Defense Committee of Lublin met on 30 August to assess the state of security and the crime threat on Polish State Railroad property and review efforts under way to combat economic crimes and speculation. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 84 p 2]

KROSNO DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Krosno Provincial Defense Committee has met to review the state of security and law and order in that province. The reports that were presented reveal that the crime rate in Krosno Province showed an increase during the first six months of this year in relation to the same period last year. Conversely, it was noted that there has been an improvement in the highway traffic safety situation in the Subcarpathian region. It was also noted that persons released from custody under the terms of the amnesty have been conducting themselves properly. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 84 p 5]

PZPR LAW, ORDER COMMISSION--The implementation of the amnesty law was discussed at a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Law and Order Commission held on 25 August. The participants in the meeting were also briefed on a report dealing with the progress of consultations on the draft law on the Citizens Militia Volunteer Reserve. The participants expressed their views on the goals of the plan for fulfilling the tasks arising out of the resolutions and rulings of the open 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and on

the targets of the National Annual Plan for 1985. The meeting which was presided over by the commission chairman Mirosław Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was attended by General of Arms Florian Siwicki, candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of national defense, and Michał Atlas, director of the Central Committee's Administration Department. [Text]  
[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Aug 84 p 2]

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# ROLE OF COUNTRY AS PROMOTER OF NEW PRINCIPLES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 84 pp 18-21

[Article by Univ Lecturer Dr Victor Duculescu: "Socialist Romania As Active Promoter of New Principles of Relations Among States"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We shall keep militating for intensive promotion, in Romania's relations with other states and in relations among all countries, of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, and full abstention from the threat or use of force, and for observance of every people's right to free and independent development as they wish it."

Review of the 40 years since the historic act of 23 August 1944 presents the picture of Romania's rising advance in world politics and its prestigious gain in influence in the world. The value of the Romanian foreign policy procedure has been particularly apparent in the 19 years wherein the party and state have been headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, an eminent revolutionary and leader and the creator of a new conception of contemporary international relations that is of worldwide significance and reknown.

Romania's increasingly strong advance in the world and its gain in worldwide prestige are due to the far-sighted and principled way in which the RCP and its secretary general have succeeded in answering some vital questions of the contemporary world in the innovating period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress, and to the creative and realistic way in which Romania and the president of the republic have succeeded in interpreting the implications of the extensive and complex international problems, in proposing constructive solutions to them, and in taking firm measures in that direction. The original treatment of the immediate and long-range problems of international relations and the correct interpretation of the radical shifts in the world balance of power made it possible for the traditional policy of peace, understanding and collaboration to be increasingly promoted in the 19 years since the Ninth Party Congress, permanently consolidating the inherent tie between the entire Romanian people's national interests and the vital interests of all nations of the world in the spirit of full equality of rights.



Promotion and consistent observance of the new principles of international relations and a consistent effort to institute new standards of conduct in relations among states are main points in Romanian foreign policy. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the Ninth Party Congress that "Romania's international policy is permanently based on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit. Romania is militating for consistent promotion of those principles in the international arena, considering their observance essential to development of collaboration among states, greater confidence among peoples, and respect for every people's inalienable right to self-determination."

#### The Requirement for the Nations' Free and Independent Existence

The basic principles of Romanian foreign policy reflect long-standing traditions of the Romanian people's struggle for national sovereignty and independence, autonomy and preservation of their national existence, their resolute opposition to any foreign domination, and their consistent support of other peoples' struggles in defense of their legitimate rights.

In meeting the objective requirements of the states' coexistence in the present historical stage, the principles of international relations take the form of necessary standards of the states' conduct, which emphasize in international relations the essential values that must be protected and established in a new, democratic world based on respect for all peoples' equality and dignity, namely peace, sovereignty and cooperation among nations. Their first mission is to direct the states' behavior toward institution of a new international climate of collaboration, to block the aggressive imperialist circles, and to counteract warlike manifestations, acts of force, and interference in the peoples' internal affairs. In socialist Romania's thought and practice the new principles of international relations are intended to provide a realistic and certain way to solve mankind's great problems in the present historical period, to permit remedy of injustices, to guarantee peace, and to open up new and mutually advantageous prospects for collaboration among nations.

In bringing out the quite exceptional importance of the new principles of international relations, Nicolae Ceausescu said, using the most striking metaphor he could, which illustrates the clarity and depth of his scientific view, that "These principles are to contemporary human society and to cooperative relations in the world what water and air are to man's existence. How could we give up water and air? It would mean to give up life. No, we cannot give up these principles because they are indispensable to our independence and freedom and to the independence and freedom of all nations of the world."

The whole evolution of international affairs very clearly demonstrates the necessity and value of proclaiming and respecting firm principles for the states' behavior in the international community. As we know, the present period is one of unprecedented advance of the technical-scientific revolution but also one of unimagined improvement of the means of destruction, of aggravation of the contradiction between the rich and poor countries, and of irreducible confrontation between the policy of national independence and some militarist circles' attempts to jeopardize the peoples' cooperation and to escalate competition in armaments and the struggle for spheres of influence. The feeling for national

independence is gaining in strength throughout the world and the peoples' struggle for new national and international orders is gaining much ground, but in the meantime new conflicts are breaking out, older conflicts are being revived, and the policy of use and threat of force is still in use against some countries' and peoples' independence and territorial integrity.

The peoples of the world now have a great many international bodies and forums for cooperation, but their effectiveness is still limited because the big countries prefer direct negotiation of the vital problems that concern them and military-strategic interests, reasons of prestige or misinterpreted "national" interests often prevail in their relations. Under these circumstances a climate of international legality is becoming a sine qua non for defense of peace, peaceful settlement of disputes, and prevention of a nuclear conflict. Elimination of the policy of force from international affairs and institution of a climate of trust favorable to development of material and cultural exchanges are essential to the very stability of the international system and peaceful coexistence of states with different ideologies, political systems, aspirations and interests.

It is to the inestimable credit of Romanian political thought and Nicolae Ceausescu himself that they established the main requirement for basing relations among peoples and nations on new principles for relations permitting construction of a world of peace, prevention of conflicts, and encouragement and maximum development of cooperation among countries and peoples in all fields. The Romanian president considers the basic principles of international relations an essential element of the stability of international relations because they help not only to solve problems concerning several countries equitably and democratically but also facilitate the increasingly effective progress of the democratic forces on the national and international levels and the fulfillment of every people's aspirations to progress in a world of peace and justice.

The primary importance that the RCP attaches to the new principles for international relations is based on its conviction that those principles are to be the nucleus of a future international revolutionary legality, the quintessence of a new system of international standards and regulations that will secure maximum fulfillment of every people's aspirations to freedom and independence, and capable and effective mechanisms that can facilitate the guarantee of all states' security as well as international cooperation. The great international problems cannot be realistically or effectively resolved unless the basic principles of international relations are observed. Disregard of them can lead only to anarchy in international relations and a policy of "the right of the stronger," obviously sacrificing the interests of the small and medium countries and the developing states, which form the vast majority of the international community today.

#### A Notable Contribution to Stronger International Legality

The importance Romania attaches to the basic principles of international relations is especially significant because Romania entered the fundamental principles of its foreign policy, which agree with the great principles of international legality, in its new constitution in 1965. As it says in Article 14 of the Romanian constitution, "Romania's foreign relations are based on the principles

of observance of national sovereignty and independence , equality of rights, mutual benefit, and noninterference in internal affairs."

That is particularly important because unfortunately not all states as yet intend to base their foreign policies consistently upon the basic principles of international relations, to actually respect these principles and not just to recognize them. In the policies of some circles hostile to detente and peace the use and threat of force, the "right" to intervene in sovereign and independent states' internal affairs, reallocation of spheres of influence and domination, achievement of the military balance by further escalation of the armaments race, etc. are raised to the rank of "principles." It is to the credit of Romania's foreign policy that it adopted the basic principles of international relations, which are now generally binding standards in the world community validated by documents with binding legal force, as fundamental principles of its relations with other countries and of international affairs in general, whereby Romanian foreign policy is making a notable contribution to stronger international legality because the principles of its foreign policy actually coincide with the great principles of international legality and help to strengthen their binding force and to enrich their content.

By elevating the principles of its foreign policy to constitutional principles Romania brings many new and original elements into its practice as regards the content and significance of these principles and the applications to be made of them. Examination of the principles of international relations entered in the treaties of friendship and cooperation, joint declarations, joint solemn declarations, and other international documents signed by Romania reveals important developments of the basic principles and increasingly emphatic assertion of some new aspects of these principles as distinct, independent standards of international behavior. At the same time it should be noted that although the systematization of the principles stated in the said documents is not always the same, all these documents without exception contain unequivocal references to every state's right to observance of its sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, all peoples' inalienable right to self-determination, abstention from use or threat of force, noninterference in internal affairs, settlement of international differences by peaceful means alone, and the states' right and duty to cooperate with each other regardless of their political, economic and social systems.

As compared with the provisions of the UN Charter and proceeding along the lines of the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Relations of Friendship and Cooperation Among States, the joint solemn declarations and treaties signed and concluded by Romania make important qualifications to provide the most exact definition of the purport of some of the established principles. For example, as compared with the provisions of the UN Charter, which refer only to noninterference "in matters essentially within a state's internal competence" (a provision that, as we know, has also given rise to some restrictive interpretations), the documents signed by Romania refer to "all states' obligation not to intervene in any state's domestic or foreign affairs in any way or under any pretext," which provides a much broader basis for the operation of the said principle. And while the UN Charter refers generally to the principle of "sovereign equality of all its members," the Romanian treaties, declarations and other documents point out that it is a matter of "the states' equality of

rights" (meaning more than sovereign equality), while also stipulating that the said principle refers to all states regardless of size, developmental level, and political, economic or social system.

Note also that the international instruments concluded by Romania also specify (in the form of distinct standards of international conduct) some important consequences of this principle, as for example every state's right to participate on a fully equally basis in the examination and resolution of international problems of common concern, its right of access to scientific and technical advances, etc. The documents promoted by Romania also establish, as separate principles, elements that are only implied in the system of the UN Charter as consequences inferred from the principle of sovereign equality. Thus it is necessary to mention the express provisions, entered in documents, concerning every people's inalienable right to freely choose and develop their political, economic and social system according to their own will and interests with no outside interference, every state's sovereign right to use its natural resources, the states' obligation to respect the inviolability of the state borders and territorial integrity of other states, and the more general obligation of every state to respect the rights enjoyed by the other states according to the regulations of international law.

In the course of this year's proceedings of the Special Committee on the UN Charter and Development of the Organization's Role, the Romanian delegation reaffirmed Romania's previous proposal for the United Nations to draft and adopt a universal code of conduct to include the states' basic rights and obligations flowing from the generally accepted principles and standards of contemporary international law. Based on President Nicolae Ceausescu's idea of basing international relations permanently on constant observance of the fundamental principles and standards of international law and reflecting the Romanian president's resolute effort to apply those principles to relations among all states of the world, the preparation and ratification of such a code could define a conduct of the states that would be universally applicable and would secure relations of good will, cooperation and peace.

Of course a given basic principle can take on a priority significance in some particular context according to the nature of the international period. For example, in the present historical period the critical requirement becomes necessary to prohibit the threat or use of force in relations among states and to take firm disarmament measures to eliminate the danger of a world conflagration that could affect the fate of our whole planet. In this period it is especially urgent to take measures permitting enforcement of every people's right to peace, security and independence, revival of detente, development of world relations on a constructive course, and full participation in world relations on the part of all categories of countries, which differ widely in area, social system, and the problems they are interested in solving.

#### Not a Declared Recognition But Consistent Observance of the Principles!

Romania feels that the basic principles of relations among states must be taken as a single whole, for it is out of the question to invoke a principle in order to eliminate or diminish the application of other principles. For example, observance of sovereignty is incompatible with cooperative actions disregarding



the states' equality or permitting interference in their internal affairs. Protection of human rights can never call for actions impairing the value of sovereignty or of noninterference in other states' internal affairs. Peaceful coexistence is incompatible with interference in any country's affairs, and territorial integrity is inconceivable when saber rattling on the borders of countries tries to point out that force has not yet said its last word when it is a matter of resolving world problems.

An essential idea that Romania has very consistently promoted throughout its international activity is to the effect that the basic principles of international relations have the same binding force, that no allowance whatever should be made when it is a question of observing these principles, and that no reasons of any kind can prevail if it is actually desired to secure international cooperation and peace.

Romania's party and state leader has often and very emphatically pointed out the necessity of strictly observing the standards of international law and putting a stop to interference in any countries' and peoples' affairs and the policy of force and armament. As Nicolae Ceausescu said from the high forum of the National RCP Conference, "No one, nor any state however big it is, can usurp the right to dictate what another state must or must not do. It is necessary to do away with the policy of force and dictation entirely, and to consistently respect every people's right to choose the path of socioeconomic development that they wish."

Romania's consistent effort to militate for observance of these principles originated in the idea, constantly reaffirmed in the RCP documents since the Ninth Party Congress, that in the present historical period international affairs require elimination of any outmoded practices or methods, abolition of force, prohibition of any interference in the states' internal affairs, and a truly democratic international environment actually guaranteeing the peoples freedom from any kind of military aggression and any kind of interference, and ensuring maximum advancement of every people's sovereignty and independence.

In Romania's view and practice, it is necessary in the present stage of evolution of international relations to shift from declared recognition of the basic principles of relations among states to generalization of their observance in international affairs. Experience shows that these principles are established in many international documents but many instances still occur where they are deliberately violated, the course toward discord and conflict is aggravated, and the peoples' legitimate will is disregarded. Therefore it is one of the major efforts of Romanian foreign policy to find practical ways of establishing unequivocal observance of the principles and their binding force in international affairs or taking measures against those who violate them. To cite recent examples only, Romania's initiatives to conclude a treaty for general prohibition of force and a declaration on peaceful settlement of international differences and to create institutions to facilitate their application are significant in this respect.

In addition to the direct efforts to strengthen the binding force of the principles and to specify their content in the international documents, Romania's important stands on the main problems of the day should be mentioned, which reflect

correct interpretations and consistent applications of the new principles for international relations in various international problems. For example, President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of the new international economic and political order is a brilliant application of the idea of the principles of international law in the light of the future and the creation of a new world of peace and equality wherein relations among states are squarely based upon a high morality and justice.

#### Guarantee of Regulation of International Problems

In all Romania's proposals for disarmament we also find a direct embodiment of the requirement to observe the principles of international law and a development of the idea that the principle of prohibition of use or threat of force in international affairs must be correlated in the present historical period with specific measures that can eliminate the threat of military conflagrations and encourage confidence and cooperation among nations.

The policy of European security, to which as we know Romania has been making a considerable contribution, also includes as a main element the idea of applying new principles of international behavior among the states of the continent to permanently replace the old policy of force. Romania's contributions to the definition of the principles entered in the Final Act are well known, as well as its realistic, lucid and highly scientific views on complete and uniform implementation of the ratified documents.

In the context of the confrontation between the two opposing trends operative today in the world arena, the role of the new principles of international relations is becoming that of a promoter of the peoples' struggle for national sovereignty and independence and against the policy of force and dictation and the old practices in disregard of the peoples' independence and freedom. And so Nicolae Ceausescu was quite justified in saying in his report to the National RCP Conference that "All states and especially the great powers must assume the solemn obligation in international relations to observe and respect the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit."

To be sure enforcement and generalization of observance of the new principles as the sole basis for conducting international relations is a long-range process dependent upon elimination of the policy of force from international affairs, elimination of zones and spheres of influence, and cessation of interventions and interference, under various pretexts, in the affairs of any countries or peoples. International legality, meaning the entirety of principles and treaties guiding relations among countries, helps to promote the peoples' independence and their sovereign and independent presence on the international scene. Disregard of international legality and resorting to acts of force pollute the world climate and jeopardize relations among countries and their conduct in accordance with the peoples' legitimate rights and interests.

In Romania's view, brilliantly embodied in Nicolae Ceausescu's works and activity, international legality is a veritable shield for the sovereign states' rights and especially the rights of the small and medium states, because it guarantees them against the use of force, disregard of their legitimate rights, and the attempt to minimize their participation in international affairs.

Romania's and Nicolae Ceausescu's noteworthy contribution to promotion of the new principles of international relations has quite rightly drawn accolades from state and government heads, political leaders, and scientists and journalists as well. Constantin Karamanlis, for example, the president of the Hellenic Republic, said that "President Ceausescu is a president whose prestige is not confined to his country or to mine. He is a global personality whose activity is identified with all peoples' struggle for independence and self-determination, equality between large and small countries, and nonintervention of any state in another state's internal affairs and who conducts\* a many-faceted foreign policy the reknown of which has reached the farthest corners of the world. Stefano Vetrano, a member of the Italian Communist Party and secretary of the Italy-Romania Friendship Association, expressed the opinion about President Nicolae Ceausescu's contribution that "The peoples value the principles that he is promoting, namely observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, equality of rights and collaboration for mutual benefit. They value his initiatives in resolving the major problems of the day, which initiatives enjoy prestige in wide ranks of world public opinion." Louis Nagel, director of the Nagel Publishing House in Switzerland, pointed out in his turn that "The president of Romania takes brilliant and worthy initiatives in expanding and consolidating peace and collaboration in the world. His ideas and his stand on guaranteeing the nations' complete independence and consequently their independent development in all fields and their will to self-determination with no outside influence is of vast importance to the destinies of the Romanian people and all peoples."

On the historic 40th anniversary of the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation and the 19th anniversary of the Ninth Party Congress and in honor of the 13th Party Congress, Romania is more united than ever around the party and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu and is making determined efforts to protect the great principles of international ethics and legality, to strengthen the role of international law, and to eliminate the causes that make the principles inoperative in some situations. Consistent with its principled position of approaching international relations from the standpoint of ethics and justice and observance of the principles of international law, Romania is militating with determination for consistent application of those principles to all situations and for generalization of respect for these basic standards of international conduct.

\*Within the alliance to which he belongs.

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# CEAUSESCU, PARTY HAILED FOR CREATIVITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 84 pp 1-4

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. Al. Cazan: "Creative Approach to the Revolutionary Theory in Close Correlation with the Necessities"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us make a continuing effort to eliminate all that is old and outmoded, to overcome the contradictions that arise in social development, and to boldly promote the new in all activities. There must be no dogmatic thought or practice of any kind! We must not look for any solutions in quotations or in the past! In full knowledge of the past and by knowing and understanding the laws of social development, let us look to the future and find the solutions that correspond to contemporary development, to the requirements of our period, and to socialist and communist construction!"

We are now celebrating the 19th anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress, an event of outstanding historical importance to the party and the entire Romanian people. The Ninth RCP Congress inaugurated a period of great innovating changes in Romania's history that marks a distinct and critically important stage of socialist construction and revolution in Romania by virtue of its essential characteristics and the revolutionary changes it made throughout society. The sum of the Romanian people's magnificent, unprecedented achievements in the 19 years the party has been headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, the best loved son of the people, the founder of socialist Romania, a brilliant revolutionary militant and an inspired patriot, bears out the entire party's and people's opinion that this historical period is the most constructive one in all of Romania's contemporary history.

The 19 years that have passed since the Ninth Party Congress are a period of radical socioeconomic changes in contemporary Romanian history. In the course of the revolutionary reforms of these years, the RCP has very emphatically asserted its role as a political leader of society with the basic aims of dedicated service to the people's vital interests, application of the general principles of scientific socialism to Romania's particular conditions, and unification and organization of the entire nation's efforts to build the new social order.

## The Most Constructive Period in the Nation's History

In the course of socialist construction in Romania, the Ninth RCP Congress and the theoretical works and practical activity of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu opened up a radically innovating outlook. The historical period inaugurated 19 years ago is characterized by intensive promotion of the creative spirit in all social activities, extensive receptiveness to dialectical analysis of the stages in Romania's revolutionary process and of the evolution of the productive forces and production relations as well as the social relations, and by clear determination of the directions of Romanian society's future development on the path of socialism and communism.

In Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the Ninth Party Congress in July 1965 the inauguration of this important period in socialist construction was already characterized by the bold, realistic approach to the strategic problems of building the new order in keeping with the particular requirements of each stage in the evolution of contemporary Romanian society. The Ninth RCP Congress instituted a dynamic view of all social-political activity based on the principle, confirmed by experience, that the superiority of the socialist order is not exploited automatically but requires a sustained effort to study the facts of each stage thoroughly, without evading the defects or shortcomings of the moment, so that society will be managed in keeping with the objective trends of social development.

The changes that were made throughout society in the last 19 years were influenced by the strong personality, far-sighted thought and revolutionary action of the party secretary general. Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and tireless efforts to carry out the party policy brilliantly demonstrate his ability to understand the objective trends of the contemporary social processes and to guide practical activity toward the further progress of Romanian society.

The RCP feels that mastery of the working class' revolutionary theory of the world as well as its development and creative application are the essential components of social reform in the contemporary period and major galvanizing factors for construction of the new order and for contemporary progress. The axiom that there is no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory has acquired new meanings in the eyes of the RCP and its secretary general, based on generalization of their own experience in socialist construction and revolution and on in-depth examination of the contemporary social-historical facts and of the economic, social, political, scientific and cultural changes that are going on. In this process, the general theoretical principles have been and are being constantly checked with experience and with the requirements of life and material and cultural progress, and the theory itself is being enriched with new theories, opinions and conclusions.

In this spirit of receptiveness to innovations Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the National Party Conference in 1967 that the forms and methods of social management and organization are not immutable or set once and for all but "must be constantly improved in keeping with changing experience and the tasks required by the objective process of society's material and cultural development... Sooner or later disregard of the facts and backward organization and management lead to contradictions and negative phenomena that obstruct the progress of the economy, culture, and society as a whole."

The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism is an integrated, unified synthesis of the RCP's theoretical, ideological and political thought. By virtue of its significance, this ideological document, to the preparation of which Nicolae Ceausescu made a critical contribution of inestimable value, is the party's ideological and theoretical charter.

Experience tells us that the party's theoretical and practical activity and the measures it has taken on the basis of thorough analysis and knowledge of the facts in order to adequately resolve the complex problems of socioeconomic development have been of decisive help in stimulating socialist construction in Romania. All that has been accomplished during these years in building the new order is accordingly inseparable from the party's all-around activity, from Nicolae Ceausescu, and from the critical role of the party secretary general and president of the republic in both preparing and implementing the policy for Romania's development.

The National Party Conference of December 1982 made an extensive analysis of the present stage of socialist construction under the present developmental conditions of Romanian society and international affairs and in the light of the guidelines set by the 12th Party Congress. In a uniform way it took up the theoretical and ideological problems and those of the party's political-educational work, as well as the ways of resolving the contradictions and accomplishing the fullest possible coordination between the productive forces and social relations, the harmonious progress of all society for purposes of raising Romania to a higher level of development, and the main objective of instituting a new stage of Romania's development in this five-year plan, and a new and better quality in all fields.

The analysis of the complex problems of the new stage of Romanian society's development also allows for the great revolutionary changes throughout the world and the characteristics of the present international situation, wherein the bad effects of the economic crisis, worldwide instability, underdevelopment and the widening gaps between the rich and poor countries are seriously aggravated by the armaments race, especially the nuclear one, by the huge military outlays, by the accumulations of more and more new weapons, and by accentuation of the policy of use and threat of force, all of which are seriously aggravating international discord and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. The RCP believes that resolution of the existing crisis situations in the world arena, prevention of war and preservation of peace, the vital problem of the contemporary world, require cessation of the armaments race, the start of disarmament, especially nuclear, abolition of the policy of force and domination and of redivision of the world into spheres of influence, elimination of underdevelopment, construction of a new international economic order, all states' active participation in the democratic solution of world problems, and consistent promotion of a new policy that will secure every nation's independence and security.

#### Full Compliance with the Objective Requirements of Historical Evolution

The RCP's entire activity is based on the revolutionary conception of dialectical and historical materialism and the advanced ideas of scientific socialism, which the RCP applies creatively to Romanian conditions. Experience, the facts and the results of socialist construction in Romania as well as the Romanian people's

great achievements in the all-around development and prosperity of the nation demonstrate the correctness of the party's general policy and its full compliance with the objective requirements of historical evolution, as well as the invincible power of the historical and dialectical materialist theory.

The RCP's theoretical and ideological work is focused on development and enrichment of the revolutionary conception of the world and life by generalizing the revolutionary experience acquired in Romania and throughout the world in the light of the national and international historical facts and the new advances of science, culture and all human thought.

The RCP considers its role as a guide to action essential to the power and viability of the revolutionary theory of the working class and its increasingly effective promotion in society, excluding from the very start any tendencies toward isolation or petrification of general theoretical principles and their conversion into dogmas and absolute truths laid down once and for all.

Historical and dialectical materialism is by its very nature a theory that must be creatively applied, a method of dialectical analysis of the facts, and a conception that never loses its capacity to guide investigation and interpretation of social processes and events in accordance with the new historical conditions, economic, social and national. Nothing is more foreign to the true historical significance of the revolutionary theory than its interpretation as a collection of immutable principles or a universally valid model bearing a priori solutions to all problems of society's present and future development. Historical experience has proved that socialism and communism are constructed under specific historical conditions that vary greatly from one country to another, making the ways, means and forms of revolutionary world reform more and more diversified.

Creative application of the revolutionary theory in the RCP's ideological and political work is based on the fact that the new order must be built on the basis of both the general laws and the economic, social and historical realities of each people and each country. Disregard of the general laws and principles may do great harm and even jeopardize socialist construction, but disregard of the specific-historical realities and use of models that do not allow for them may be no less harmful and dangerous to a country's socialist development itself. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his address to the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "Therefore we must always see to the harmonious correlation and dialectical unity of the general truths with the specific socioeconomic facts in order to secure the success of socialist construction and the implementation of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

In the RCP's view, one of the characteristic features of the revolutionary conception is its capacity to keep developing in close contact with life, with revolutionary practice, and with the experience of every country and every historical period, along with its receptiveness to all that is new, advanced and progressive. This development is not just a chance phenomenon but a permanent necessity and a prerequisite for preservation of the revolutionary nature of the working-class conception of the world.

Experience tells us that the revolutionary theory itself must be viewed in action, constantly involved in the structure of contemporary revolutionary

practice. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the developmental law of the historical and dialectical materialist conception has been and still is constant refreshment of its nature from the spring of universal thought and knowledge, from the advances of all the sciences, and from the inexhaustible and constantly growing social experience of human society. This calls for the greatest receptiveness to all that is new and progressive in the world, a synthesis of the fruits of all knowledge, and discovery of the answers to the problems constantly presented by experience, and by evolution from the standpoint of society."

Opposed to isolation and always critical, even of its own principles, the revolutionary theory is not presented as an infallible dogma or truths that are all of the same nature and functions for different historical periods, first because the social-political implications of the philosophical principles are not and cannot be the same in any historical period, and second because along with the evolution of society, concepts and principles of historical and dialectical materialist philosophy have been and are capable of enrichment and differentiation because of the evolution of the social structures, class relations, and scientific progress.

Interpretation and application of materialist dialectics as a scientific method of studying and prospecting the facts, the new conditions of contemporary society, and the contradictions characteristic of each stage of social development are the sure ways in which the revolutionary theory keeps demonstrating its capacity to answer the new questions arising in mankind's development, to be receptive to all that is new and progressive in the world, and to function not only as a generalizing conception but also as a critical revolutionary weapon for reforming the world and man himself.

#### Revolutionary Spirit Throughout Construction of the New Order

The revolutionary spirit of dialectical and historical materialism also takes the form of intolerance of theories, trends or schools of thought hostile to innovating social changes, of the older or newer forms of philosophical irrationalism and open or disguised antihumanism, and of any reactionary ideas. Since the leading circles in the capitalist countries are intensifying their anticommunist and antisocialist campaigns in various ways as the crisis phenomena peculiar to capitalist society are aggravated, the RCP is stressing the necessity of a firm answer to all those who are questioning the great progress that has been made in building the new order and of emphatic rejection of the propaganda against socialism and its revolutionary theory. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Experience tells us about all these theories and ideas that the revolutionary and progressive forces and especially the communist and workers parties must be more active and not on the defensive any longer, and they must make an extensive and sustained effort toward political-ideological clarification, firmly opposing and completely exposing all reactionary ideas and theories both old and new."

The revolutionary conception of the working class itself was forged in the fire of constant polemics with the backward idealist conceptions in the philosophical thought of its time and with the ideological and political views that were hostile to progress, while it preserved its lasting capacity to apply the ideas of progressive thought critically and to receive the values of humanism and philosophical rationalism through a constructive dialogue with the non-Marxist trends



and the representative schools of thought that contributed to the progress of knowledge and culture in a given historical period. Accordingly the RCP documents consistently stress the need of an open critical dialogue between the revolutionary theory and other contemporary schools of thought and of development of political-ideological work to meet the demands of the present developmental stage of the new society and the contemporary world in general.

The RCP and its secretary general feel that theoretical, ideological and political-educational work are vital to the whole task of socioeconomic development and construction and consolidation of socialism. Constant improvement of that activity is an objective necessity for revolutionary social reform, while theoretical and political-educational work is an essential component of the party's leadership in the whole process of revolutionary social reform.

In pointing out the vital importance of theoretical and ideological work in his address to the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the point that the conditions for forming a unified theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life are being created for the first time in history in the socialist order. The secretary general said that promotion of a unified conception is not to be taken in the narrow sense of standardization or unquestioning acceptance of any given position but intrinsically involves continuing comparison of various ideas and theories on organization of the productive forces and social relations: "We must always bear in mind that the struggle with the old conceptions of the world and life and promotion of the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception call for a long-term process. And so it is the entire party's permanent task to carry on a sustained theoretical, ideological and political-educational activity requiring a persevering and highly responsible effort on the part of all party organizations.

As we know, major results have been achieved in the years of socialist construction in raising the political-ideological level of the communists, in their mastery of the revolutionary conception of the world, and in developing all workers' socialist awareness. Political-educational work has had and has a very important role in arming the party and all workers with scientific interpretation of the direction of evolution of the contemporary social processes and of the realities of Romanian socialist society and international affairs. It has become a powerful force for uniting the workers' and the entire people's efforts in the task of building the fully developed socialist society. At the same time, as it says in the RCP documents, theoretical and political-educational work is somewhat lagging behind the intensive development of the productive forces and the changes that have taken place in the social structure and production relations, calling for measures to correlate the two aspects of social development as completely as possible and to promote the new socialist awareness of the workers and the people as a whole.

The new stage of Romanian society's development calls for thorough analysis of the specific realities in Romania and development of original theoretical and practical solutions to the new problems arising in the course of socialist construction. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "I think we must begin to draft an extensive program for theoretical and ideological work and analysis of all internal and international phenomena in the spirit of the dialectical-materialist conception so that we can draw the right conclusions for future activity. At

In this spirit, as we know, the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee expressly assigned ideological work and research in the social sciences the task of compiling some theoretical works on the present stage of Romanian society and the problems of improvement of social relations, development of workers revolutionary democracy, the action of the economic laws in socialism, improvement of the new economic mechanism, and consolidation of workers self-management and self-administration. The scientific and philosophical problems of the objective evolution of the world and society must also be approached from the dialectical-materialist point of view, answering the old metaphysical conceptions of the world with a reply firmly based upon the contemporary scientific findings.

To the same effect, the National Party Conference in December 1982 indicated the need of a more sustained effort to clarify the various theoretical and ideological problems in relation to the present stage of Romania's development, the revolutionary changes going on in the world, and the new problems arising in our period.

In the course of accomplishing these aims of major importance to the general progress of Romanian society it is becoming increasingly clear that by constantly following general truths of the revolutionary conception of the world and applying them creatively to the specific social realities of the present stage the RCP's theoretical and ideological work and its secretary general's theoretical works have played and are playing an essential part in arming the working class and the masses with scientific understanding of the social processes of the contemporary world and with the resolve to keep trying to promote the revolutionary spirit of the working-class conception of the world in all activities.

At the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983 the party secretary general expressed, in this connection, the idea of particular theoretical and practical importance that the revolutionary process and the revolutionary struggle are not over but are continuing under the new historical conditions, confronting the party's theoretical and ideological work with the responsibility for constant promotion of the militant revolutionary spirit essential to consistent implementation of the RCP Program, and requiring study and correct interpretation of the new processes taking place in society for purposes of effective action in accordance with the objective laws of social development. The party requires acceptance of the new and purposeful efforts to renovate society. That is a necessity born of the profoundly innovating spirit of the principles of scientific socialism and dialectical and historical materialism. The constant timeliness and perennial nature of the revolutionary conception's power to influence contemporary social processes are demonstrated by experience, by the Romanian people's great progress in national socioeconomic development, and by the revolutionary reforms accomplished under the party's leadership.

The convocation of the 13th Party Congress in November 1984 will be an event of historic importance in the lives of the party and the entire people. By ratifying the main trends and directions of Romania's development in 1986-1990 and thereafter up to the year 2000, the congress will mark a decisive stage in the implementation of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In preparing for the congress, we must further emphasize and intensify political-ideological work as well as the educational effort to form the new man

as a builder of socialism. Let us prepare for the congress in such a way that we raise the party's ideological and political level and its militant and aggressive spirit and enhance the Romanian people's revolutionary and patriotic awareness!"

The decision unanimously approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee to re-elect Nicolae Ceausescu at the 13th Party Congress as the RCP secretary general is an expression of the will of all communists and the party as a whole and of the Romanian nation's support of and confidence in the party's entire domestic and foreign policy, as well as a firm guarantee of the exemplary implementation, under the tried and far-sighted leadership of the Romanian people's best loved son, of the historic decisions that will be approved by the congress.

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